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TRAVELS









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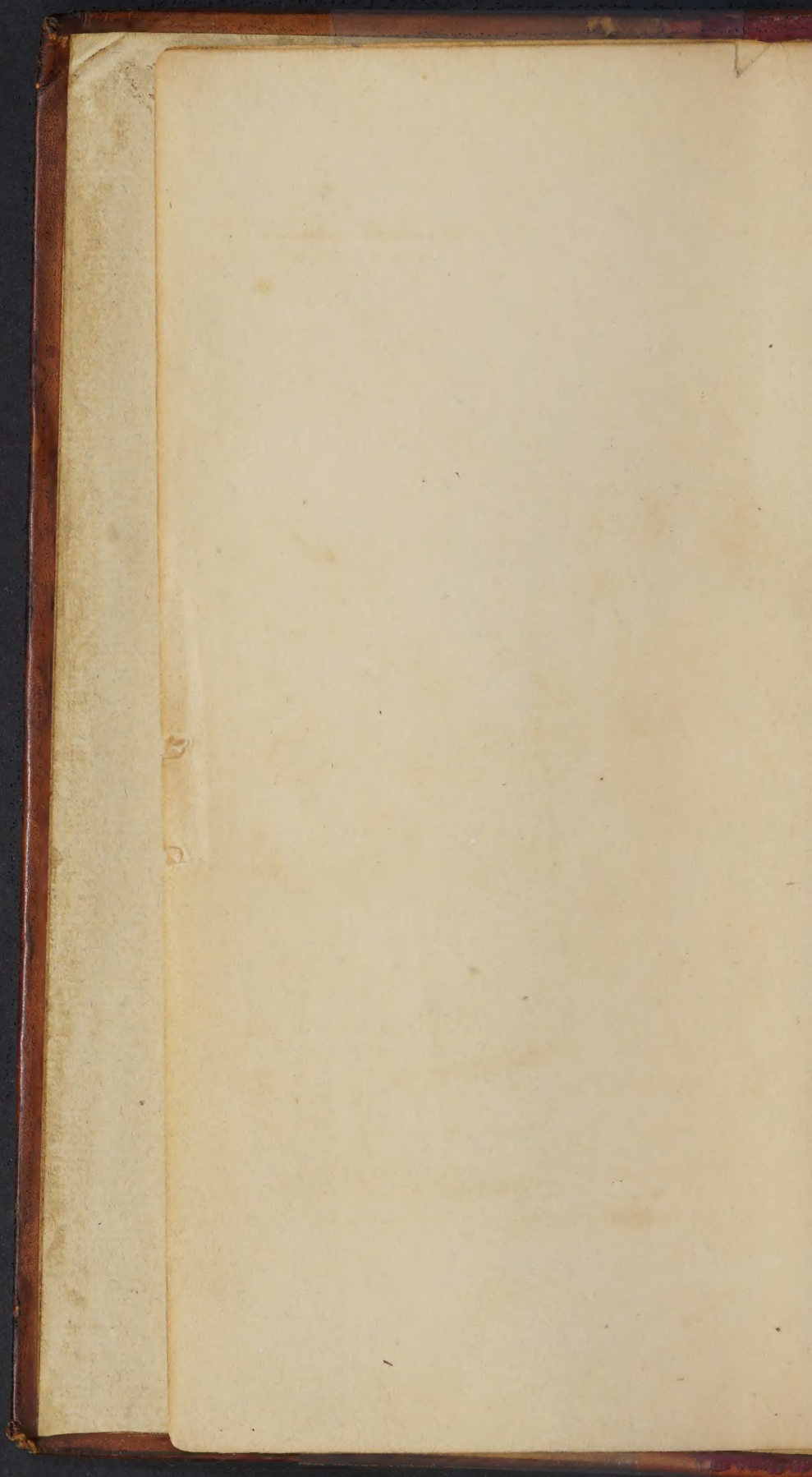
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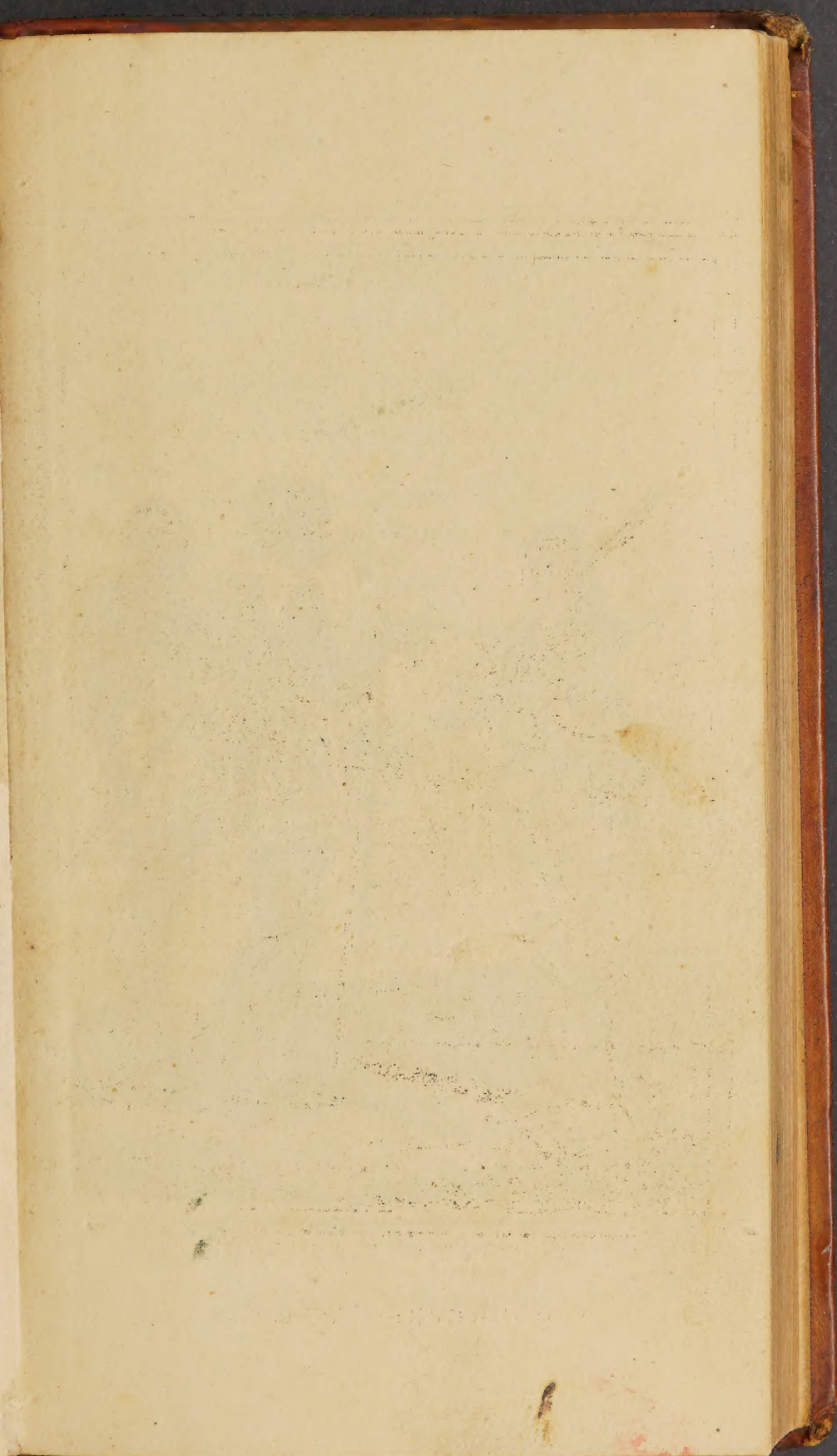
Contains 3 hand-drawn
aquatints + folding map
(completely re-illustrated)

Travel in the late

18th Century by the
1st German to do so
in the region - 15 yrs
duration on foot.

T221
complete







Published Feb 6. 1801.

DAMBERGER in CAFFRARIA.

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TRAVELS
IN THE
INTERIOR PARTS OF AFRICA,
FROM THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO MOROCCO,
THROUGH
*Caffraria, the Kingdoms of Mataman,
Angola, Bahahara,*
AND
From thence across the Great Desert of Sahara,
AND
The Northern Parts of Barbary.

PERFORMED DURING THE YEARS 1781 AND 1797.

By CHRISTIAN FREDERIC DAMBERGER.

Translated from the German,
And Embellished with Three Coloured PLATES,
and a Correct MAP.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE frivolous ambition of appearing in the character of an author, in this age of universal literature, has had no share in prompting me to the publication of the following Work : many of my friends and patrons expressed their wishes that I should communicate to the world at large the observations I had made and the circumstances I had learned during my progress through the more distant parts of Africa, as a means of throwing a further light on the science of geography and the history of the human race, and I have thought it my duty to comply with their request on this subject. A number of writers, who have perhaps never travelled more than forty or fifty leagues from the places of their nativity, have amused the public with a pompous account of the dangers and misfortunes against which they have been obliged to struggle, described cities and countries which they had scarcely seen, and pronounced their decisions of praise or blame according to the caprice of the moment: yet these are not only read, but encouraged to proceed in their researches and communications. Now, as I may, without the imputation of presumption, affirm that I am the first German who has ever attempted so hazardous an enterprize as that of exploring the interior of a country hitherto so little known, which I continued to do for the space of sixteen years, alone and on foot, I will flatter my-

self with a hope that I shall render a public benefit by relating the occurrences I met with and imparting the knowledge I have been able to acquire during this expedition.

Although my narrative may not be embellished with the flowers of rhetoric, or the lights of science and erudition, yet in the more important article of truth it is undeviating; as I can solemnly attest that I have been an *eye witness* to all I have related. Upon those occasions where I have been obliged to correct the errors of such travellers as have preceeded me in the track I have pursued, and which, from their authority, have been received as facts, those of M. Vaillant for instance, I have been actuated by no other motive than a regard to truth; and I trust I shall meet with candour and indulgence for any mistakes I may have been myself led into. My manner of writing the names of the different countries, nations, and towns through which I have passed may not be conformable to general usage; but I have, in most instances, been guided by the pronunciation of the natives; the only light I could obtain from them, as in few places they possess any written records. In those parts where maps and geographical charts could supply me with the names I have adopted them; but many denominations of countries and towns are totally omitted in all geographical works. These omissions I have in a great measure obviated and corrected in the map annexed to this volume. Of those countries which have been really visited and accurately described by others I have avoided saying much, to spare tedious repetitions of what is already sufficiently known.

To

To illustrate some objects which could not be so well described, I have endeavoured to delineate them by drawings as near to nature as I was capable of making them; and the artist I have employed has happily succeeded in executing the engravings from those drawings and what further instructions I could give him.

Should I be so fortunate as to have my present work favourably received by the public, if I remain in Europe, my intention is to publish, as a sequel to it, an accurate geographical description of those kingdoms and countries I have mentioned, which are not so generally known; namely, Bahahara, Haoussa, &c. &c.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK DAMBERGER,
Joiner, Native of Sch * *.

Written while travelling through Saxony, in August 1800.

Directions to the Binder.

The Author in Caffraria	-	<i>facing the Title:</i>
Map of the Country	■ - - -	<i>page 1</i>
Inhabitants of Bahahara	- - - -	<i>— 271</i>
A Moor of the Defart	■ ■ ■ -	<i>— 350</i>



Dec: 30 1800

TRAVELS
IN THE
INTERIOR PARTS
OF
AFRICA.

CHAP. I.

Brief Account of the Author's Journey to and Transactions in Amsterdam—Sails for the Cape of Good Hope—Arrival, and Account of the Hospitals there—He is promoted from the Ranks to the Appointment of House-steward to Mr. BRAND, President of the Council—Acquires the Dutch Language—Deserts from the Service—Causes which obliged him to do so—Resolves to penetrate into the interior of the Country—Goes first to Stieken-Busch—Account of the Revenues of the Dutch East India Company and their Expenditures.

I LEFT my native town on the 2d of May, 1781, and passing through the bishoprick of Munster, arrived at Amsterdam on the 26th; where I lodged at an inn near the old Calvinist church, called the City of Frankfort; here I joined six persons who, having lately entered into the service of the East India Company, were carousing on the bounty money that they had lately received. On meeting them the following day, I mentioned that I had myself conceived a strong desire of making a voyage to
B the

the East Indies; they seemed rejoiced to hear it, and urged many arguments to confirm me in this resolution; wine and biscuit were immediately called for, and they solicited me to join with them in circulating the cheerful glass: towards evening we all adjourned to a place of public amusement there called a *spielhaus**, where we concluded the night in festive mirth. The next morning, which was the 2d of June, I got the landlord of our inn to accompany me to the East India House, where I offered my services, which were immediately accepted, and I was enrolled a soldier for seven years; I at the same time received orders to hold myself in readiness to embark for Batavia on board the *Morning Star*, which was shortly to proceed thither, and in which I was to be accompanied by my new friends. Forty-one gilders were paid me by the company's agent as bounty money, which I immediately applied to the purpose of procuring necessaries for my voyage; these consisted of a chest, the proper cloathing, some tobacco, tea, coffee, &c. My host, seemingly all sincerity and integrity, was very officious in his offers of assistance to procure these articles, and I left all to him without any suspicion; but when I was preparing to go on board, a fortnight afterwards, he brought me in a bill to the amount of no less than a hundred gilders due to him: not being in possession of any money towards the payment of this debt, I was obliged to leave him an order, empowering him to

* These are a description of houses to which the women of pleasure are admitted three evenings in the week, and, if not able themselves to procure them, are supplied by the landlords with clothes, and every ornament calculated to set off their persons to the best advantage: thus adorned, they make their appearance in the ball-room; where, if asked, they are allowed to join in the dance. Each man who dances pays a gilder, but the utmost decorum is observed in their behaviour to these women, not the slightest liberty taken, as they are only here in the characters of dancers. Should their partners chuse it, when the ball is over, they may attend them home; but they are seldom induced to do so; as, when stripped of their borrowed ornaments, they are generally reduced to rags and wretchedness.

to receive it out of my future pay, when so much became due to me.

Our ship was a three-decker, which lay off Helvoetsluys; and on the 16th of June we embarked to the inspiring sound of music. We found every thing in readiness for our departure, and set sail on the 21st. The officers belonging to the ship were Captain Gray, a Brabanter; the first, second and third mates, Volkers, a Dutchman, Rindolfi, an Italian, and Koch, a native of Koningsberg. One half of us were Germans; the whole number, including the soldiers, amounted to three hundred and sixty men. There had been put on board, as a supply of fresh provisions during our voyage, twenty fine young oxen, twenty-four hogs, forty sheep, seventy fowls, and thirty pairs of pigeons. Three days before our departure we had been preceded by three other East India ships, and the Keniterpenth, a three-decker, sailed in our company.

After passing through the British channel, on the 29th we entered the Bay of Biscay. In a storm, which overtook us on the 9th of July, we lost our fore and mizen-masts, but sustained no other damage of any consequence. Our course, however, was not now so rapid, consequently we did not arrive at St. Jago till the 16th. From thence we sailed with jury-masts, the captain not chusing, though he might have done so, to land for the purpose of refitting; fearful of separating from the other ships, and perhaps too, unwilling to pay two hundred gilders for the right of anchorage. In passing the line on the 4th of August, though the heat was intense, some of the old experienced seamen assured us that it was much less so than they had experienced on former occasions. Our crew now became very unhealthy; on the 20th of August we had lost seven men, and had one hundred and twenty-one sick; many of them confined to their beds from the effects of the scurvy, or by an inflammatory fever which spread among them. I had myself a slight attack of the former complaint, but soon threw it off.

On the 19th of September we got within sight of the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 21st came to an anchor. It was with vast difficulty that our captain obtained permission to continue in the road, as the physician of the Cape asserted that we had a contagious disorder on board, and ought not therefore to be permitted to come nearer than Roggen Island, three leagues from the Cape. From this representation we were actually obliged to lie two days at anchor before we were even allowed to have any fresh provisions brought us from the town. Our captain was at length obliged to go on shore without leave, and lay the reality of our situation before the governor, or we must still have continued to suffer under numberless hardships, although thus within sight of every means of relief. We were now, from his exertions, furnished with every thing necessary, and our sick taken on shore and received into an hospital. I was myself of this number, having been again attacked by the scurvy. On landing we were carried to the hospital in chairs by the slaves of the company. The number of sick was now eighty-four, and we also brought on shore, for interment, three who had died the day preceding our casting anchor.

Although the old sailors during our passage had often drawn a melancholy picture of the wretched attendance in the hospitals at the Cape, yet the reality in this and every other point far surpassed any idea that words could convey, or imagination form. On our arrival, to every man was allotted a wooden bedstead, upon which was spread a miserable mattress stuffed with sheep's wool; and for covering, a horse-rug of the coarsest texture, loathsome with filth and vermin. Our chests and hammocks were carried to a warehouse, but no care taken for their safety; so that when any of the sick were so far recovered as to be able to crawl to this repository, they generally found their chests totally rifled of all they had left in them, if the chests themselves had not been conveyed away, which was often the case. Those appointed to attend
on

on the sick, who are most commonly themselves the robbers, when applied to by the defrauded persons with enquiries after their property, give evasive answers, talk of their chests being carried to a wrong place, and promise to make search; but this is never done, or done without success; and if the sufferer pursues the matter, and insists upon the restitution of his effects, they retaliate, by asserting he never had brought any with him, but only wanted to obtain what did not belong to him; and besides this, punish him by additional bad treatment and neglects in their attendance.

To each sick person, without any distinction or exceptions, is allowed six ounces of bread a day, with half a pound of meat, and a quart of rice or barley broth; what is left by those who are too ill to eat much is appropriated as a perquisite by the attendants: tea is what those who are reduced to extreme weakness live chiefly on. When so far recovered as to require only better food and fresh air to complete their cure, unless able to bribe those inhuman beings, they must languish on without enjoying those benefits. Except in the article of flesh meat, their food is the same throughout the year; but that is so far varied that they are allowed mutton three days in the week, the other four days beef; which latter is so bad as to be sometimes unfit for use; and is always of a black colour, from being dressed in iron pots.

The physicians * go the rounds three times a day, to enquire into the state of the sick; they are accompanied

* During my stay in the hospital there, were three physicians attended; the first a native of Alsace, named Madens, a mere empiric, without knowledge or experience, who had never studied physic, perhaps never read a book on the subject. The history of his life, as well as his conduct in his profession, was a proof of this. He had been for many years servant to a physician at the Cape, with whose wife he had so ingratiated himself that, after her husband's death, she married him. This lady was rich, and possessed influence enough to procure permission for him to practice in cases of wounds and external dis-

panied by two of the attendants, a surgeon, or apothecary, and two slaves, carrying medicines; according to the answers they receive from the patients they prescribe medicines, and the care of administering them is left to the apothecaries; but this they do in a most irregular manner: in their hurry to attend the physician in his further progress they either give a wrong medicine, or none at all. On the departure of the physician, if those who have been thus neglected apply to the attendants for what has been prescribed for them, they are given the first medicine that comes to hand, scarcely ever the right one. Every evening a minister of the reformed church reads a psalm aloud, and a verse of a hymn is sung in each ward.

When a patient dies, he is laid out on a bier covered with cloth, in whatever clothes he may happen to have on when he expires, and thus delivered to four slaves, who carry him out for interment; but as no proper person attends to see this performed, these men, to save themselves trouble, often throw the bodies amongst bushes, or into a ditch. Those who recover, are either forced to do duty in the linienwache (the line-guard*) or are sent to serve on board a Dutch vessel, if any are lying at anchor at the time.

After

ordets; and he even made experiments in the internal complaints of some slaves, who chanced to recover. This recommended him to notice, and he was appointed assistant in the hospital: hence he was dubbed doctor, and, in process of time, was actually raised to the post of first physician there, though totally destitute of the requisite qualifications. The second was named Dimptl, a Swiss, equally ignorant in his profession. And the third was Mader, from Belanger, where he had acquired a considerable share of skill, and possessed besides an excellent heart; but he did not often attend, being much employed as an accoucheur.

* Called also the Schane-wache (foot-guard.) In the middle of the fort, in front of the castle, is a long building, in which twenty privates, two corporals, twelve artillery-men, and a bombadier keep constant guard. This guard is placed here chiefly for the purpose of keeping watch over another building at a little distance from it, where the convalescents
from

After having lain four weeks in this hospital, I was removed to the Linien-wache; here I continued but a fortnight, being chosen by Mr. Brand, the president of the council, to attend him in the post he held at Falso-bay*. I lived there a year in the discharge of several different offices: when ships arrived I assisted in unloading them, and also in stowing their outward-bound cargoes: when nothing of this kind remained to be done, I was employed to cut wood on the mountains, hew stones from the rocks, and in other occupations of the same nature. However, this laborious life did not continue long, and I was removed

from the hospitals are received and lodged whilst waiting for the ships that are to carry them away. Yet, instead of being taken care of here, I have seen some, who have been only just discharged from the hospital, treated as slaves; compelled to work at the roads, and drag heavy wheel-barrow; and at the same time their diet was of the worst kind, and they were obliged to sleep, all huddled together, upon the hard boards. Besides all this, if any (as they often did from weakness) seemed to shrink from their labour; the corporal who had charge of them scrupled not to punish them by blows. I do not mean to insinuate that the East India Company have any knowledge of these men being thus ill fed and ill treated; I know that they have even provided against such abuses; but I cannot help thinking that it would be conducive to their dignity and honour were they to make a stricter scrutiny into the conduct of these persons whom they employ at the Cape. M. Schall, the officer who had the superintendence of the above-mentioned reception-house for convalescents, was a man of the honestest and best intentions; but as he did not himself inspect the building, but depended on the periodical reports which were given in to him, the acts of cruelty and injustice committed there were unknown to him.

* There are buildings of considerable extent at Falso Bay; of these and of the surrounding country Mr. Vaillant has given a full and very accurate description. There is a guard kept here, consisting of twenty-eight privates, and a still larger number of seamen, commanded by a serjeant and two corporals. Helmer, a Hanoverian, and Cosky, a native of the Netherlands, were the two corporals stationed there at the time I was employed by Mr. Brand, who was sole superintendent of the post, and thence called Post-halter, (commandant) with the rank of captain; he was also president of the council.

removed to another station from the following incident:—A man named Repah, a native of Bremen, and formerly a taylor there, had been for some time house-steward to my master; he was honest and worthy, but, unfortunately, very much addicted to drinking: his chief duty was to attend on foreign visitors; and as there were then some English vessels lying at anchor, and the officers came much on shore, consequently a good deal of hurry in the house, his assistance was more requisite than usual: of this, however, he was incapable from intoxication, and to supply his place, one of my master's sons came to summon me from the work in which I was then busied, and I was appointed to succeed the good Repah, who had filled the office six years. I was in fact far from being qualified for this new employment; my native language was the only one with which I was the least acquainted, of course I could not converse with foreigners, nor even understand them, so as to help them to what they asked for. In this, however, my young master generally assisted me; and I, by degrees, learned various phrases of different foreign languages.

In this new situation I acquitted myself much to the satisfaction of my master and the younger part of his family; and I had filled it nearly a year, when I perceived a storm gathering over my head. I was of a silent, thoughtful turn, and, upon that account, had never been a favourite with my mistress, who used every effort in her power to injure me; if I staid quietly in my room, which I did as often as I had an opportunity, she would say to her husband, "That German is certainly over-run with vermin, and wants to rid himself of them, he stays so much in his own chamber: Manus" (the Christian name of my predecessor was Hermannus) "was a much better servant, and was always cheerful and conversable." This, and speeches of a similar nature, being repeated to me, hurt me much; I complained to my young master; but he, as well as his father, exhorted me not to let any thing of this kind interrupt my tranquillity.

As

As no more ships were expected in at that season, my master, with his whole family, myself of the number, removed to a house which he possessed in Capetown. Here a separate chamber was assigned me; and as there was very little domestic duty to employ me, my master, to improve me in my writing, gave me some Dutch copies to imitate; his son undertook the office of tutor, and corrected what I wrote; thus I not only acquired the rudiments of writing, but a knowledge of the Dutch language at the same time. My master was highly pleased with the progress I made, and encouraged me to pursue these branches of improvement, which might be the means of his one day employing, or recommending me to situations much more to my advantage. These fair promises were, however, never realized, and only because the mistress of the family chose to be hostile to my interest.

Mr. Brand, as commandant, had many different employments to attend to: he was the company's chief agent at the Cape; all their imports and exports came under his inspection: he paid all the troops stationed there, and had the superintendence of the transports to be provided when they were to be sent to any other part of the world. He was, besides, a kind of factor for the land-owners and planters in the disposal of their foreign commodities and home products. He kept two clerks constantly employed; and when there were many ships in the road, they were sometimes obliged to work night and day; and he now placed me with them as an assistant, to read over the invoices and accounts to them whilst they wrote.

I had now lived two years in this family, perfectly satisfied with my situation: I seized with avidity every opportunity that presented itself for the cultivation of my mind, and the extension of my knowledge; my master's good opinion increased in proportion to my exertions, and he entrusted to my management business of various kinds, which he had formerly transacted himself; he employed me to draw out several small accounts, which I executed to his entire satisfaction; I had also often the charge of delivering out

of the magazines the monthly allowance to the company's servants, and the distribution of rice, flour, &c. for their use; and I was so fortunate as never to commit any mistakes on those occasions.

At the distance of three days journey from the Cape, on the road which leads to the warm baths, my master possessed an estate,* which he visited every year for a few weeks to receive the accounts of his steward, and leave him his instructions. This man was a native of the bishoprick of Munster, his name Barensmahl; harsh and forbidding in his appearance and manners, and had, before my arrival, as I was informed, been accused of a murder. In the present excursion thither I should very gladly have accompanied my master; but as, besides his two eldest daughters and Lieutenant Muller, † his son was also of the party, I was obliged to stay behind to superintend all the business which must necessarily be transacted in his absence; to draw out various accounts; and, in case his stay was protracted beyond the commencement of the ensuing month, to deliver out the monthly allowances from the company's magazines.

I did not like this separation from my master and his son; I foreboded that I should enjoy but very little tranquillity during their absence; and in effect my fears were but too well founded. The very next day after their departure, dissensions arose between me and my master's wife. He had entrusted me with the key of his private office, with strict injunctions that if the clerks, or his wife should have occasion to go into it, I should always accompany them: the lady, however, insisted upon my delivering up to her the key, and that I should remain in my own apartment; this I told her I would not do, as I had my master's orders to accompany whoever should go thither, and I must obey him. This opposition exasperated her to a most violent

* Each of the company's servants are allowed a house at the Cape-town, but they cannot hold any landed property; of this estate therefore my master's son was the nominal possessor.

† A man of abilities, formerly a butcher, and a native of the bishoprick of Wartzburg.

violent degree; she snatched the key from my hand; pushed me back with all her force, and poured out a torrent of invectives against me, which would have disgraced the lips of the meanest slave. This I bore with patience, and retired to my own room to reflect on what course it would be best for me to pursue. I at length came to the resolution of quitting the house, and repairing to my master in the country. As I was preparing to put this design in execution, I was surprised by the appearance of Kitty, his third daughter, who had come in search of me. I informed her of the scene which had past, and of my determination in consequence of it; she exerted all her eloquence to prevail upon me to abandon my purpose; and concluded by saying, that if I would meet her in the company's garden in the evening, she would communicate something of importance to me.

She was a beautiful girl of fourteen, and tall of her age; she had always appeared fond of any employment which placed her near me, and took particular pleasure in hearing me speak German. At her request I postponed my departure; and, after dinner, I went to the fort to wait on Major Blüner,* an intimate friend of Mr. Brand: I related to him the treatment I had met with: he preached patience to me; but, in conclusion, told me that, if I found myself exposed to any further molestation, I should find an asylum with him till my master's return. At four o'clock I repaired to the place of assignation with my little friend, impatient to learn what was the matter of importance she had to communicate: I met her near the entrance of the garden, and we walked round it together, she leaning on my arm: her communications were not of the most weighty nature; but her kindly flattering expressions gave me room to believe that I had made some impression on her young heart. She took much pains to persuade me that, if I thaid with her father, and connected myself by marriage with some opulent and respectable family, I should, in time,

* A Hessian, a man of sense, who had been formerly a baker.

time, become a man of consequence; that such things were not unusual, and that her father himself had by similar means risen to the rank he now held.* As the good-natured girl was beginning to tell me what were her mother's intentions as to her future conduct towards me, we perceived the lady herself advancing to meet us, accompanied by her two youngest daughters. As she had already espied us, there was no attempting to avoid her: and I felt exceedingly confused and alarmed at this unexpected rencounter; and still the more so as, when she approached us, from the rage which sparkled in her eyes, I could read what passed in her heart. I accosted her, however, and entreated her pardon for my presumption in walking with her daughter, whom I said I had met by accident in the garden as I returned from the fort, and had begged permission to attend her home. Contrary to my expectations, she received my excuses with much complacency, and not only gave me a most gracious answer, but invited me to continue my walk with her and her daughters, and to accompany them to the Rothe-blüme†, a beautiful vine-clad hill near the town. I accepted the invitation, and we rambled together, conversing on various subjects, till rather late in the evening; when, on our return home, I had the honour of supping with the family.

This

* He came to the Cape as a common soldier, and had soon after the good fortune to be appointed army-messenger to the governor, in which station he improved himself in reading and writing: he at that time also became acquainted with his present wife, then great with child by an English officer. She soon conceived a partiality for the young soldier, which the governor, whose great favourite he was, perceiving, he took pains to bring him still more forward, and to shew him a marked distinction; in consequence, the match soon took place. Mr. Brand being an Englishman by birth, was next appointed a clerk in those offices where the English ships which touched at the Cape transacted business: acquitting himself with ability in this situation, he rose by degrees to his present lucrative station.

† Rotheblüme, under the Löwenkopfe, or Lion-head mountain.

This repast over, I retired to my chamber, where I spent an hour or two in the arrangement of some accounts: I was at length interrupted in my employment by the entrance of a female slave, who brought me a message from my mistress, desiring my immediate attendance. I obeyed the summons, and was received with much cordiality. After some conversation which led to it, she, at length, addressed me in a tone of earnestness, saying, "now do tell me, since we are alone; had not you an assignation with my daughter in the garden this evening? and have you not serious designs upon her? I perceive she is very fond of going to your chamber." I was puzzled how to answer her; but determined not to betray the innocent girl: I, at length, repeated what I had said to her in the garden; I excused my own presumption as well as I could, and strove to convince her that her daughter never visited me in my apartment unaccompanied by her brother; and that then we only conversed on indifferent subjects; generally that of my recluse and sedentary habits of life. My excuses, however, were not accepted; "My daughter has confessed all," resumed she: "I know your secret; and you only hurt your cause by endeavouring to make a mystery of it to me, who alone have the power of serving your love and advancing your fortune." To this she added many other arguments, by turns soothing and threatening me; but I adhered steadily to what I had at first advanced; and, wishing her a good night, left the room: she persisted to the last in her incredulity, calling after me, "Very well, I shall find means to make you more communicative."

From the whole tenour of her conduct, I could not be mistaken in the nature of her views; I therefore determined to act with the utmost circumspection; lest, by meeting her advances, I should involve myself in ruin, and in the end become the object of her persecution and malignity. Frequent instances of this nature had occurred during my residence at the Cape; a single one will suffice to mark the characters of its female inhabitants:

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A gentleman of consequence and respectability, named Münch, had married a young lady of exquisite beauty, but not less remarkable for the levity of her conduct; conscious of this, her husband, to shield her from every temptation of straying from her duty, shut his doors against all strangers. For the education of his three children, however, he was obliged to keep a tutor, and to fill this office he chose a young Prussian named Lampmann*; to engage his attention, the lady practised all her allurements. One day, after having given the usual lessons to his young pupils, he went into a garden which was behind the house, where he amused himself in pruning the vines; the mistress of the house perceiving him from her window, called to him; and begged, as she saw he was not materially occupied, that he would come and sit with her, to raise her spirits: he accepted the invitation, and in his hurry, or from absence of mind, carried the pruning knife with him. The lady's tenderness soon overcame all his scruples of conscience and honour: suddenly, however, they were alarmed by the sound of her husband's voice, who had returned much sooner than she expected. Dreading the effects of his jealousy, on his finding her looked up with the tutor, in his absence, she had recourse to the basest artifice to elude his suspicions as to her own conduct; and, to screen her reputation, she began to scream out, and call for assistance with the utmost vociferation; this immediately brought her husband to the door, which, on finding it bolted, he desired her to open; she answered that she was prevented doing so, but begged he would force it; this he instantly ordered his slaves to do; and, on entering, beheld the unfortunate preceptor, of whom he had hitherto entertained the highest opinion, stupified with terror and confusion; his wife, all in tears, flew to meet him, exclaiming, "Heaven has sent you to save my life!"

* A native of Hausbergen, a small town in the vicinity of Minden, son to a forester. By the interest of Colonel Gordon, he was afterwards promoted at the Cape.

life! With that weapon at my breast, pointing to the pruning knife, "this infamous wretch threatened to put an end to my existence, unless I would listen to his illicit love; I had just strength to wrest the murderous blade from his hand as you arrived."

Meanwhile the unhappy man, thus accused, struck dumb with consternation, was unable to utter a word in his own defence; this, to the deceived husband, was a corroborating proof of his wife's assertions; he therefore ordered his slaves to lay hold of him, and had him immediately dragged to the Drunk, the principal gaol of the town: an indictment was brought against him; he was found guilty, and condemned to a thirty years banishment to a neighbouring island, loaded with irons. Fortunately for him, Colonel Gordon, who was well acquainted with the lady's character, gave entire credit to his representation of the matter, and interested himself in his fate. He found means to gain over the favourite waiting-slave of Madam Münch by bribes, with promises of secrecy and protection; her account agreeing perfectly with that of the persecuted preceptor, he had him, of his own authority, removed to the castle for safety. He then informed the court that he was convinced, by indisputable evidence, that the man whom they had thus condemned was innocent of the crimes alleged against him; that therefore, if they persisted in executing the harsh sentence which had been passed, he should send a statement of the whole proceedings to the States of the United Provinces, with witnesses who should confirm his representation of the transaction. Münch, whose honour was so deeply concerned, was, for some time, unwilling to drop the business; but his wife, fearful that infamy and punishment awaited her, should it be further pursued, persuaded him, that as the expence attending a thorough investigation of facts would be enormous, it would be better to leave the villain to the vengeance of Heaven, which, she had no doubt, would yet overtake him. To these arguments he at length yielded; the proceedings were

stopped, the judgment of the court reversed, and the tutor set at liberty. I could relate many occurrences of a similar nature; but must now resume the thread of my own history.

The morning after the interview with my mistress, which I have above related, my breakfast, which had hitherto been always brought me at seven o'clock, was entirely omitted until I sent to enquire after it at ten. I then received it, and at the same time a message from my mistress, intimating that I must in future attend myself, not only in carrying my breakfast, but whatever else I might want. After dinner I received orders to bottle some wine; whilst thus employed, some of the bottles, which had been damaged in the cleaning, happened to break in my hands; this provoked my mistress to the most scurrilous abuse, and I was even threatened with having my ears boxed; swelling with indignation at such unworthy treatment, I flung the bottle then in my hand upon the ground, flew to my own room, changed my dress, and immediately quitted the house. I repaired to the castle, and finding Major Blümer at home, related to him the events of the day; he now advised me strongly to take up my residence with him till my master's return. I thanked him for his kind interest and invitation; I returned once more, however, to that abode, now become so irksome to me, packed up all that belonged to me, and then wrote a short letter, addressed to my mistress, telling her that I intended going to my master. I used this precaution, fearful she might denounce me to the Governor as a deserter.

I looked upon it as my duty to go to my master, although I was thoroughly convinced that I must shortly quit his service, persecuted as I was by his wife. And here I will mention one circumstance worthy of observation: that in the whole course of my travels I have never visited a country where wives have so despotic a controul over their husbands as at the Cape. Major Blümer added to his kindness to me by giving me a letter to my master; and I set out on
my

my journey, relieved from an oppressive load in having thus escaped the persecutions of a vindictive woman.

It occurred to me on my journey, that, as I had five years more to serve, according to the stipulation of my articles, it would be my best method to request of my master, either to replace me in my original situation with him, or permit me to return to my station in the *linien-wache*.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of my master on seeing me: he enquired the meaning of this journey, and I was obliged to relate all the particulars; in conclusion I made my request, that he would dismiss me from my present employment, and permit me to resume my former occupations with him, or return me to the *linien-wache*. "At present," said he, "I can decide on nothing; on my return to town I will make some other provision for you; in the meantime remain here with me."

On the fifth day after my arrival my master received an express, with the intelligence of three English ships having anchored in the bay. This obliged us to set out instantly, and we arrived at noon the next day in town. On our entrance into the house, not the least notice was bestowed upon me by any of the family: I found my room locked; but no offer was made to open it for my reception. My master, in coming from his apartment, found me standing in the passage, and demanded the reason; I told him the door of my room was locked, and I could not get in: he went for the key himself, and then went to his office. On entering my chamber I found every thing thrown about in the utmost disorder. I was busy in arranging my books and some other articles when I was summoned to attend my master. His countenance and manner on my appearance clearly indicated that he had met with something to ruffle him. He desired me to follow him into his office, where I was astonished to find the confusion even greater than in my room; letters, bills, writings of every kind strewed about, or huddled together in heaps. I was struck with consternation,

nation, and he demanded of me the meaning of all this; I replied that the key having been taken from me almost immediately on his departure, I was not accountable. I assisted in setting them to rights; but, on examination, many papers of consequence were missing; this enraged him so much, that he desired I should immediately go about my business, and he then locked up the door. His wife was next called to an account, but she was prepared to meet the charge. She had in fact conveyed the papers away, for the express purpose of involving me in this trying dilemma. She asserted, with unblushing effrontery, that, immediately after her husband's departure, I had gone into this office, and, as she secretly watched me, had seen me search every corner, and put several papers in my pocket, which was the reason she had taken the key from me. Not satisfied with thus belying my character by her virulent falsehoods, she now flew at me with the rage of a fury, and would have struck me; but her husband interposed, and endeavoured to pacify her, by assuring her he would have me punished in the most exemplary manner; this, however, did not calm her passion; again she sprung forward, seized me by the hair, and gave me several blows on the face. Not able any longer to bear such indignities, I laid hold of her in my turn, threw her to the ground, flew out of the house, and ran with all my speed to the castle.

Not finding Major Blümer at home, I waited on Colonel Gordon, gave him an account of all the bad treatment I had met with, and entreated him to receive me into the military ranks; he replied, that he must first hear my master's representation of the matter; and that, if he consented and recommended me, he would do what he could for me; in the meantime he placed me under the care of Serjeant Schuster. On conversing with this man I soon learned the probable fate which awaited me; he told me I should not be allowed to remain with the troops in garrison there, but be sent by the first ship that sailed for Batavia, where

where I should be obliged to serve out the entire time I was at first articted for, as that I had spent in the family of my master would not be taken into the account; he at the same time drew so horrid a picture both of the country and the service there as filled me with despair. We were presently joined by Lieutenant Von Baalen*, who confirmed all that the Serjeant had told me; adding, that had I entered a little more into the views, and flattered the foibles of Mrs. Brand, it might have been the means of making my fortune at the Cape.

What course now remained for me to pursue? Under the present circumstances my remaining at the Cape was out of the question; and the account I had just received of Batavia had effectually determined me against going thither; to desert then was the only alternative that was left me; but how to accomplish this was the question; where could I conceal myself? I could not venture on board one of the English ships, as my master must soon have been informed of it, and would, in consequence, have insisted on my being delivered up to him. I therefore came to the decision of endeavouring to return to Europe by land, without once looking forward to the extreme fatigues and difficulties attendant on such an enterprize; and I lost no time in carrying my design into execution in the following manner:

In the evening I returned to my master's house, and, desiring to speak with him, I expressed a wish that he would still retain me in his service; but, as I was upon such terms with my mistress, suggested that he must send me to False-bay, as I could not think of living under the same roof with her after what had past. He objected to this arrangement at first; but on my saying that I should then prefer the service of the company to continuing under her power, he assented to my proposal. However, as there were some English officers

* This officer had left Holland in the station of a common sailor, but had been shortly after promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the army.

cers expected on shore, he said my attendance would be necessary for a day or two longer, as he must send to False-bay for Rapah to supply my place. Six English officers came the next day, and in the evening Rapah also arrived.

I was now permitted to go; and having dispatched my trunk by the company's waggon, on the 4th of November, 1783, I set out for False-bay. I had previously sold a year's arrear of pay which was due to me, as also such part of my effects as I knew would be useless to me in my projected expedition. There was in the garrison of the Musenberg a corporal named Martens*; he was a native of the electorate of Hanover,

* M. Vaillant has made mention of this person, and it was probably from him he received much of that information which he has given the world as the result of his own observations. It must be well known to those who have the least acquaintance with the politics at the Cape, how very difficult a matter it is to obtain permission to travel into the interior of the country even on foot, and without the apparatus of baggage, beasts of burthen, &c. Yet M. Vaillant would have it believed that, at a time when France and Holland were not on the most cordial terms with each other, he had made this journey, accompanied by a vast cavalcade. It is a fact universally known, that a French regiment in the company's service stationed here, was sent away only because some of the officers had made excursions of perhaps some weeks at a time amongst the planters, without however attempting to make any of those enquiries which M. Vaillant pretends to have done. To give the greater appearance of credibility to his account, this writer tells us that he did not travel in the common track, and that he carefully avoided approaching the habitations of the planters; but, granting this even to be the case, his expedition, at the time he undertook it, could not have been a secret at the Cape. As for his collections, illustrating the natural history of the country, which he alleges as a confirmation of the truth of his assertions, they prove nothing; for those he might have purchased at Cape-town of the slaves or Hottentots there. That the governor may have given him leave to visit some particular planters is very possible: but I cannot help thinking that he has arrogated to himself the credit of those discoveries and remarks made by Colonel Gordon in a journey he undertook by the governor's desire. Every new governor is obliged to examine into the state of the country as far as the territory of the company extends; and governor Plethenberg employed Colonel Gordon to make this excursion in his stead.

Hanover, whom Colonel Gordon had chosen to attend him in a journey he had made in land as far as Caffra-ria; and he had in this excursion laid down a map of the country through which he had past, and presented it to the company, in the hope of their approbation and reward; but the only return he received was a peremptory order never to attempt drawing another, if he wished to escape an imprisonment of thirty years in irons. This threat, however, did not alarm him so much as to make him desist from his undertaking, and he frequently locked himself in his room to complete his maps. I had cultivated his friendship and obtained it; yet he constantly hid his papers as soon as I made my appearance. I at length, one day, told him that I was perfectly acquainted with the nature of his employment; that I had myself a great taste for the study and drawing of maps; that he would oblige me infinitely, by shewing me what he had made of the interior of the country; nor need he be under the least apprehension of my betraying him, as both my friendship and fondness for the science would prevent me. He did not, however, wholly comply with my request; he allowed me to take copies of his other drawings, but still refused me a sight of that I had wished the most to see. I spent my time therefore in improving myself by tracing those he would shew me; and I found the knowledge I thus acquired, would be very useful to me in the execution of my projected enterprise.

I had now made every preparation for my expedition, but could not immediately find an opportunity of effecting my escape. At length, on the 24th of December, I applied to the commanding serjeant, Schnecko, for permission to go to the Cape-town, which he granted. About noon I left False-bay, directing my course towards Stielen's Busch, a plantation which, from a former governor of the name of Stiel, had received that denomination. But, previous to my entering into the detail of my arrival at that place, and of the further prosecution of my travels, I will here lay

lay before my readers a statement of the revenue and expenditure of the Dutch East India company, which may be relied on as accurate; some of the particulars having come within my own knowledge, and the remainder I have copied from authentic documents, chiefly from the papers of Mr. Brand. This, I trust, may be both acceptable and useful to such as take any interest in the concerns and commerce of the company at the Cape.

In the year 1782, according to the most exact statement, the receipts and expenditure of the Dutch East company stood as follows:

R E V E N U E.

Dollars.

Paid by Christopher Bamm for the farming of wine	43,000
For the duty on meat farmed by Maier from Wurtzburg	19,300
On tobacco, coffee, and sugar, by Gottfried Jan	8,600
Produce of the company's houses at the Cape, and at Stielen's Busch	3,272

N. B. Each house in which any kind of business is carried on pays eight dollars per annum; these are four hundred and nine in number. Besides this, each burgher pays an excise duty on every article consumed in his house; he must also provide himself with a uniform and accoutrements; as, in case of war, every man is obliged to serve as a soldier: the greater number keep horses, and form a body of cavalry; the rest do duty as infantry at the lately erected battery called new Amsterdam.

Inhabitants who are not burghers, slaves who have been emancipated, and the company's servants who possess houses (which however they must rent of a burgher) pay twelve dollars per annum duty

Dollars.

duty for each house; these being one hundred and ten in number, the whole amounts to	1,320
Each planter being obliged to pay a tenth part of his yearly income in specie, the produce to the company by this tax may be calculated under the following heads:	
From the low grounds, which are chiefly gardens	2,007
From the greater and lesser Konstarz	1,240
From Steinberg, Rand-busch, and Rothe-blüme	2,370
From Schwartz-land, Rothe-land, and Wagenacherrevier	1,790
From Falso-bay, Schlangenkopf, Nothen-kück, and Drey-kopfen	2,076
From Stielen's-busch, the largest of the plantations; it contains 106 burghers, a church, and is governed by an officer called a landdrost	3,007
From French-brook, Hottentot-island, and Seckuhthal	1,090
From Schafberg, Mottergaat, and Battebay	970
From Drakenstein, Pferdeberg, and Silbergrube	1,212
From Simonsthal, Perlberg, and Wagenthal	1,309
From Rietbeck's-castle, Barrackenberg, and Honigberg	2,080
From Piejneberg hand-mills; and to the twenty-four rivers	1,958
The remainder of the planters, who reside farther inland, contribute also their share to the public revenue; the number of these in 1782 amounted to 338; 27 of these, however, still enjoyed an exemption from taxes; of those who paid, the sum amounted to	7,340
A duty of ten dollars is paid for each slave purchased by a burgher or planter; the number	

	Dollars.
number kept is generally about 50; the whole sum paid amounted to about	500
The annual capitation tax for each slave is five dollars; their number, which is calculated at about 8,000, makes the total amount	40,000

Total of the revenue 144,441

Besides this, the planters are obliged to sell certain articles to the company at fixed and reduced prices. For example, a hundred weight of barley, wheat, beans, peas, &c. for twelve groschen, about eighteen pence sterling.

The grazing farmers also are obliged to let the company have whatever they may require of them at stated prices; as, a sheep at twelve groschen, and an ox at one dollar eight groschen.

The wine furnished by the planters to the company is also sold at a reduced price; for instance, a lager of eight hundred kans for twelve dollars.

The anchorage paid by foreign ships comes also to the company; but as this is fully balanced by what they themselves pay for the same liberty in foreign ports, it cannot be brought into the account.

EXPENDITURE.

	Dollars.
For keeping the fortifications and batteries in repair	2,000
The governor's salary	25,000
The governor is obliged to keep four clerks and twelve horses.	
The deputy governor, or vice-president's salary	10,000
To the company master, or intendant of the shipping	15,000
To	

Dollars.

To the chief intendant of the city, who must keep two clerks and six horses	-	18,000
To the fiscal	-	8,000
To other persons who hold appointments under government, and are called assistants; these, twenty-seven in number, are paid 1,000 dollars per annum each, (the oldest among them something more) the whole amounts to	-	30,000
Officers who do not belong to the regular military force, and are called <i>bas officiers</i> , receive a small stipend, commonly about 240 dollars; there are fourteen of these, and the whole of their pay amounts to	-	3,360
Non-commissioned officers, not serving in the regulars, are generally paid 59 dollars per annum each; there being twenty of these, the whole amounts to	-	1,180
Artizans who work for the company, as smiths, rope-makers, &c. have 59 dollars per annum each; for thirty of these	-	1,770
Two quarter-masters and ten ship-carpenters, at 70 dollars yearly each	-	840
Seamen in constant employment at the different stations, viz. in the dock-yards, on the Meisenberg, at Falso-bay, &c. each, in proportion to the duty he performs, have from three to six dollars per month, besides their allowances of provisions; the whole of which amounts to yearly	-	6,943
Salary of the landdrost	-	2,500
Two land-bailiffs	-	600
Three Calvinist ministers in the service of the company	-	900
Three physicians attending the hospital	-	3,000
For the maintenance of 140 slaves belonging to the company	-	1,000
	c	Police

	Dollars.
Police-men: as the public executioner, and his assistants - - - - -	1,500
Twelve Caffres, employed to oversee the slaves - - - - -	300
Soldiers employed about Cape-town to hew wood, burn lime, and as labourers, porters, &c. these are not included in the regulars, and are 160 in number. They receive, in proportion to their services, from 9 to 12 gilders monthly each, sometimes more; the whole amounts to, yearly - - - - -	16,880
The pay of the garrison, consisting of 500 soldiers, 180 engineers, &c. - - - - -	183,100
Total of the expenditure - - - - -	<u>331,873</u>

The hospital is no present expence to the company, being sufficiently stocked with beds, mattresses, culinary utensils, and the other necessary articles: and the pay of every patient admitted goes for his maintenance during his continuance there; nay, should he stay but a day, he is obliged to give up a month's pay, to be appropriated to its use. The captains of foreign ships who have their sick received into it, must provide for their maintenance and attendance, paying in advance for each patient, immediately on his admission, a Dutch gilder per day for fourteen days.

For rice and arrack, imported by the company from the East Indies to the Cape, they receive in return bread and wine for their outward-bound ships.

It will, no doubt, surprize the reader very much to observe the comparatively small receipts of the company at the Cape with that of their expenditure; but it ought to be considered how essential this possession is to them for the providing their ships with water, wine, and fresh provisions. In my statement I have even omitted the mention of one object of very considerable

considerable expence, which they are obliged to defray; that is, the pay and maintenance of a foreign regiment, now constantly stationed there. The usual garrison not being thought equal to the defence of the Cape, in case of the attack of an enemy, they have, for some years back, taken a French regiment into their service. It may be well supposed that this additional force must be attended with much encreased expence, besides that of sending them home, and replacing them by others, as is done from time to time to prevent their forming connections of too close a nature, or acquiring eastern ideas and manners, as they might be apt to do by continuing too long at the Cape. The transports for this service cost them large sums, and it often occurs; no less than four different French regiments having been successively stationed there in the space of a very few years past.

Many other advantages might accrue to the company from their possessing an establishment at the Cape, and their expences might also be much lessened, were they more careful in the choice of the persons to whom they entrust the power there, or were those thus entrusted, more conscientiously solicitous to improve to beneficial purposes all the favourable circumstances that present themselves.

M. Vaillant, and other travellers, have given the world much useful information, and many just and important observations on affairs of government, and the manners of the inhabitants at the Cape.

C H A P. II.

The Author commences his journey into the interior of the country.—Purchases a new carabine before he leaves Stielen's-busch, from the landdrost there—Receives a present of powder and ball, and finds means to procure a further supply of those articles and other necessities—Pursues his route—For some time passes his nights at the houses of different planters; afterwards avoids them, and finds shelter in the kraals of the Hottentots, or sleeps in the open air; using the precaution of lighting fires as security from the attacks of wild beasts.—In many points the Author contradicts M. VAILLANT in his account of that part of the country, and even denies that he ever travelled through it.

ON the evening of the 25th of December I arrived at Stielen's-busch. With the landdrost I had some acquaintance, having often seen him during my residence with Mr. Brand. I waited on him then without hesitation, and was received in the most obliging manner. He asked me some questions as to the occasion of my journey, which I evaded by mentioning some arrangements which were necessary to be made at the estate of my master. From him I purchased a new carabine, which I obtained with the less difficulty on my saying, I feared I should find it necessary to defend myself against the ferocity of Barensmahl, Mr. Brand's overteer, against whom he had lately received many grievous complaints. On the morrow I set out, accompanied by two sons of the landdrost on a visit to another gentleman, whom I had also frequently seen at the house of my master; his
name

name was Münch, and he lived at an estate he possessed about two leagues and a half from Stielen's-busch. I found him just ready to set out for Cape-town: this circumstance alarmed me much; however, I endeavoured to conceal my embarrassment, lest it might excite suspicion. He treated me with a great deal of cordiality; and I gave him also to understand that I was on my way to the country-house of my master.

Mr. Münch having taken notice of my carabine, I told him he would oblige me much if he would let me have a pound of gun-powder, which I would either pay him for at the present, or return him an equal quantity again: he begged me to accept of two pounds as a present; he gave me also thirty balls, and told me that after his return from the Cape, he should often call on me that we might take the diversion of shooting together. I expressed much pleasure at hearing this, and assured him that I should do all in my power to make those excursions agreeable to him. He ordered some refreshment to be brought; after which I took my leave, requesting of him, however, not to mention my having made him this visit, as I had been prohibited from doing so by my mistress. I thought this precaution might not be amiss; not that I need much to have feared being pursued as a deserter into the interior of the country; as it is deemed next to impossible that any one could make his way through it, and of course that none would attempt to escape thus.

I now pursued my way to the neighbourhood of Mr. Brand's estate, where I arrived the next day (the 27th.) I concealed myself whilst it continued to be light, lest I should be seen by Barensmahl: at night I went to the house inhabited by the slaves, whom I charged not to mention to him a word of my arrival, as I was obliged the next day to go a little further. They gave me some fish and a little rice, on which I supped, and then lay down, but not to sleep, the anxiety of my mind keeping me waking. Before dawn of

day I arose, and taking one of the herdsmen as my guide, made my way to the settlement of one Gerrard Hutter, at the distance of about four miles thence. Before I dismissed my conductor, I requested of him to let me have what powder he could spare, promising to send him a larger quantity in return, as soon as I should arrive at Cape-town: he gave me about half a pound, reserving only what would be necessary to scare away the wild beasts from his cattle. My path now lay through a wood, in traversing which I saw several tygers stretched at their full length amongst the rocks, basking in the sun. I felt alarmed, particularly when I perceived their eyes glare full upon me; but none of them stirred from their recumbent posture to molest me.

During my walk I beheld around me, on all sides, numerous habitations of different planters; but, though suffering much from hunger and thirst, I carefully avoided them. At length, nearly exhausted, I reached Mr. Hutter's: he was just returned from hunting, and sitting down to take some refreshment. He received me with kindness, made many enquiries after my master, the object of my present excursion, and other matters. I told him all the latest news of the Cape; and added, that I had come commissioned by my master to settle some business relative to skins, with Thomas Dreyer.* My host seemed quite satisfied of the truth of this account, entertained me most hospitably, and on the following morning furnished me with a horse, and a Hottentot attendant to conduct me to Dreyer's plantation, about two miles and a half further into the country.

I did not find Dreyer at home, being gone, as his wife informed me, to Stielen's-busch, whence she did not expect him to return for six days longer; she told

* Formerly a huntsman; he was now possessed of a considerable plantation, and kept upwards of seventy slaves. Mr. Brand purchased skins of him, and had them so far dressed as to preserve them during a passage to England.

me, however, that I should be welcome to remain at their habitation as long as it was convenient to me. I accepted this invitation, and staid three days, busied in making further preparations for my expedition.

I determined for the future not to go near any of planters houses, lest I should run the risk of being recognized as a deserter: I therefore took a circuitous course to avoid them; and for that night halted at a place where the cattle were fed belonging to a planter, named Meybach, at some distance from his house. Here I slept soundly for some hours, but towards morning was awoken by the howling of wolves: I was wet quite through my clothes with the dew, and shivered with cold: I therefore sprung up and hastened onwards. After about two hours walking, I entered the fields of a planter named Muhlmaan: here were some of his slaves at work, and I entreated them to let me have something to eat; two of them immediately complied, giving me their entire allowance of rice and fish, in return I presented each of them with a Dutch gilder. Thus recruited, I pursued my way with alacrity. Towards evening I arrived at Satinibay; and climbing one of the steep mountains, by which it is surrounded, from thence I looked down upon a widely-extended prospect of land and sea. I lighted a fire, and lying down, slept the night through, without being disturbed by any apprehensions of danger. At day-break I again set forward, and in a short time reached the plantation of a man named Woltmann. Wishing to speak to his slaves, on entering the house allotted for them, I found there also the master of the family; he invited me to accompany him home, where he entertained me kindly, and enquired into the motives of my journey*. I answered,

* I was known to most of the planters, as I was generally the person employed to weigh and measure those products which they brought to the Cape to be lodged in the stores under my master's superintendence; each planter was also invited once, perhaps oftener, to dinner, at our house during his stay in the town.

that it was merely an excursion of pleasure to Blettenberg-bay, for which I had my master's permission. He pressed me to stay, and I continued with him three days; at the end of which time he permitted me to depart, sending a slave with me as protection, and to convey my baggage to the estate of a M. Spiltler, which was situated on the Salt-river, about three miles from Satini-bay. From hence, after having taken some refreshment, I pursued my way through woods and trackless wilds, in order to avoid inhabited places. When in want of food I visited the fields and pastures where slaves were employed, and purchased it of them. The small rivers which crossed my path I could pass without danger, most of them being dried up.

M. Vaillant has asserted, that this part of the country is much infested with wild beasts, of which he himself met with an extraordinary number: now, to those who are the least acquainted with the place, it must plainly appear, that the planters being so numerous there, and using such constant exertions to exterminate those foes to man, this assertion of M. Vaillant must therefore be totally void of foundation. I will here offer a few observations on the subject of those planters, and then resume the narrative of my travels.

In money the planters of the Cape of Good Hope do not abound; their riches consisting chiefly in cattle and slaves. Of the latter every description of planters, even the most inconsiderable, possess at least ten each; which, on their first forming a settlement, are furnished them by the company; they paying annually, for the space of five years, ten gilders for each slave: if they wish to make them their own private property, they must pay two hundred Dutch gilders for each; and they are allowed ten years to make this payment, which they may do either in money or in products of their plantations. Most of these colonists spend much of their time in the chase of wild beasts. Four pounds of powder, and a proportionate quantity of shot,

shot, is allowed them annually by the company, besides a bounty for the skin of each of those animals, which they deliver to them in the following proportion :

Rix-dollars. Gilders.

For an elephant	-	-	-	3	0
— a rhinoceros	-	-	-	2	12
— a camel	-	-	-	2	12
— a wild buffalo	-	-	-	1	18
— an elk	-	-	-	2	12
— a lion	-	-	-	1	12
— a tyger	-	-	-	1	0
— a zebra	-	-	-	1	0
— a wild boar	-	-	-	2	0
— a goat	-	-	-	0	6
— a wild dog	-	-	-	0	16
— a tyger-cat	-	-	-	0	12
— a hyena	-	-	-	1	12
— a camelopard	-	-	-	2	0

They find it more advantageous, however, to dispose of those skins to the traders on board ships, who pay higher prices for them. It has been remarked by hunters, that many of the wild animals of this country change their haunts either at the coupling season, or when there happens to be a scarcity of water. But it is certainly an unfounded assertion, that herds of hundreds of them together have been seen; unless this account refers to a particular species of animal called the calitz.

The unbeaten-track which I now pursued was tremendous, fatiguing, and almost impassible from the scattered fragments of rocks, the tangled thickets, and abrupt precipices, which alternately presented themselves. Yet through this path M. Vaillant endeavours to persuade us he passed with his caravan ! I will, however, venture to contradict the assertion ; nay, I will go further, and pronounce that he has never been there. The whole tract of country of which I have spoken, and with which he pretends to

be so well acquainted, is so rude and wildly-pathless, that even a single passenger on foot must tread with caution, and encounter difficulties almost insurmountable; for instance, at a place called Hohlen-kluft, I was obliged to clamber up a rock of the steepest ascent, at the imminent hazard of my life; I hoped, when I should attain its summit, that every obstacle would have been overcome, but I soon discovered that my toils were little more than begun, for the most craggy precipices were now to be descended. As I must proceed, however, I was forced to brave all the dangers which threatened me, and they were numerous and terrifying; as I was often-obliged to hang to the rocks, and drop or spring from one to another at the risk of precipitating myself into the abyss beneath; not being able with my feet to reach the next resting place. Happily, however, I triumphed over all these hardships, and once more found myself on level ground.

At length, on February the 19th, I reached Blettenberg-bay, and proceeded to the house of M. Vogtmeyer. He was not at home, and his wife told me she did not expect him in less than three days from Schwellendamm, where he had been for some time. She pressed me much to wait his return, and led me to a detached building, where was the bed-room she had allotted for me: I was glad of a little rest after all I had gone through, and thankfully accepted of her invitation. I employed myself in the mean time in making observations on the country. I endeavoured also to gain from the Hottentots in the family, some lights as to my future route, and by their means procured some further necessities for my journey; amongst these were a calabash*, a good many pounds of powder, matches, a tinder-box, with several other articles equally useful.

The country around Blettenberg-bay is beautifully diversified, and extremely fertile. It would be a fine situ-

* A gourd, or a fruit resembling it made hollow, and dried in the sun; used for carrying water on a journey.

ation for building a city, which I am surprized has never been attempted. Within a circuit of about two hundred miles, are to be found abundance of the finest water, great plenty of timber fit for building, fire-wood, fruits of the most delicious flavour and luxuriant growth, with a harbour capable of containing fifty ships. As provisions are much cheaper here than at the Cape, and the bay is so commodious, Danish, Portuguese, and French vessels often visit it in preference to going there. The Dutch East India Company, however, prohibited foreign ships from entering this harbour, unless driven in by stress of weather; and then they are not allowed to take in more than three days water or provisions; as should it become a practice, the dues for anchorage paid at the Cape, would be lost to them. A guard, consisting of a serjeant and six privates, are constantly stationed here, as a means of preventing any illicit traffic being carried on between the planters and those of foreign vessels which come into port; but it does not answer the purpose, as these men, preferring their own interest to that of their employers, are easily bribed to connive at abuses of this nature. The name of the serjeant who commanded the guard at the time I was there, was Von Schell, a native of Denmark, who had formerly been in the Prussian service.

M. Vogtmeyer returned home on the 25th, and expressed much pleasure at seeing me. He told me, however, that knowing I was a deserter, he should have the pleasure of conducting me back to Cape-town, and there deliver me up to Mr. Brand; from whom he should receive thirty gilders for his trouble. This startled me, and I began to anticipate the cruel treatment which awaited me; but he quickly dissipated my fears, by assuring me that hundreds of gilders would not tempt him to betray me; that, on the contrary, he would do every thing in his power to assist me in my future plan, if I would entrust it to him without reserve. Thus relieved, I gave him a detail of the motives which prompted me to my present undertaking, which I freely confessed was to attempt
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TRAVELS IN THE

making my way through the continent of Africa, be the event what it might. He laughed at my temerity, which he termed madness, and used every argument that friendship could suggest to deter me from my design; but my decision was made, and finding he could not change it, he wished me every success, and furnished me with several very essential articles towards the prosecution of my journey; among others were a knapsack made of calf skin, and a small hatchet.

On February the 26th, he conducted me into the road which leads to Caffraria, and then bade me farewell, with every mark of friendship. I had now travelled seventy-four German miles* from Cape-town; and had still twenty-seven to traverse before I reached the frontiers. I steered my course south-east to avoid the habitations of all the other planters, many of which I saw on one side of me. I walked through immense forests, scaled huge mountains, and on the following day came to the first kraal of Hottentots, called, from the name of its chief, Wabhab's Kraal, and consisting of about twenty huts. On my approach I was perceived by one of their herdsmen, who hastening into the kraal, proclaimed the arrival of a stranger. Immediately two stout young Hottentots, armed with javelins, came out to meet me. They stopped at some distance to survey me, and then coming closer, demanded if I had come alone—if I belonged to any of the planters, and whither I was going. I answered these questions as well as I was able, and they then conducted me into the kraal, to their *Montur*, or chief. He ordered some milk to be given me, and presented me himself with some parched Indian corn, for which I paid him a Dutch guilder. I begged a night's lodging amongst them, which he at once granted, and added an invitation to stay with them as long as it should be agreeable to me;

* The proportion of the miles is something more than four and a half English to one German. *Translator*

and that I should be treated with the utmost attention as to provisions and lodging.

In the evening, the greater number of the inhabitants of the kraal came in groupes to a spacious green which was in front of the principal hut, where they amused themselves with singing and dancing. Soon after this had commenced, some of the young women came into the hut where I was sitting, and invited me and my companions to join them, which we immediately did. The girls were entirely naked, as were some of the young men; yet the former did not scruple to mingle in the dance.*

About a league further into the country, I knew, dwelt a person named Walther, at whose plantation brandy was made. To this man I wrote a few lines, enclosing three gilders, requesting him to send me the value in brandy. This was dispatched by the chief, and in a few hours the messenger returned with a cask, containing about twelve kans of that liquor. Walther also returned me my three gilders, with a note, requesting to see me at his house the next day. The chief, to whom I presented the brandy, distributed a part of it, in small quantities, to every one present.

* The Hottentot women, before marriage, go quite naked; but afterwards wear a slight covering. The girls are commonly, particularly if handsome, betrothed at eight or nine years old; after which all unmarried men are obliged to keep a respectful distance. They are not so nice with regard to their single women, and seem to have no laws against their forming connections with unmarried men, and even with those who are married, under certain restrictions. M. Vaillant represents the young women of this country as chaste and virtuous; which representation the above account, founded on facts, fully confutes. Any infringement of the marriage vow, on the woman's side, is punished with severity by each individual of the horde; but their men and unmarried women have more latitude. M. Vaillant is also in an error when he speaks of the beauty and cleanliness of the Hottentot females. Amongst the wandering tribes, indeed, I have observed some who have excelled in both those points, but never amongst those who dwell in the kraals; unless high foreheads, hollow eyes, flat noses, projecting lips, and woolly hair, be constituent parts of beauty.

sent, and desired the remainder to be deposited in his hut. We did not part till midnight, when all retired to rest: I slept with tolerable comfort on a very good mat, at the back part of the chief's tent. At eight o'clock in the morning he awoke me by bringing my breakfast, which consisted of some broiled mutton and milk. He requested I would prolong my stay with him for a few days longer, to which I consented.

About noon, according to Mr. Walther's desire, I paid him a visit; he received me with a cordial welcome; and as he did not seem to feel any curiosity as to the motives of my journey, we had no conversation on the subject. On taking leave, I requested to know how much I was indebted to him for the brandy; but he positively refused to accept of any return, adding, that when we met at the Cape he would possibly tax my kindness to a much greater extent. I assured him I should be ever ready to serve him; and so we parted.

I now returned to my Hottentots; but found that the greater part of the men were gone out on a hunting party. On entering the hut of my host, I found it forsaken of all but his daughter, a little girl about eight years old. Her fantastical and even bold behaviour surprized me a good deal at first, till I perceived she had found out the brandy cask, and was actually intoxicated. She seemed to take me for some of her Hottentot acquaintance, and hung about me with fondness: at length, not able any longer to support herself, she fell to the floor; I used my endeavours to compose her, and she soon fell asleep. I left her in the hut, and stretched myself on the green before the door. On her father's return, he enquired after his daughter; I told him that having lain down there immediately on my return, I could not tell whether she was in the hut or not; he entered it, and found her there, but did not seem sensible of the state she had been in.

I remained nine days in this kraal, and became so intimately acquainted with the whole of its inhabitants,

tants, that they all joined in endeavouring to persuade me to reside amongst them, and choose myself a wife. I evaded the proposal under various pretexts, but promised to pay them soon another visit. Some Hottentots from another kraal still further inland, having come to this to purchase some sheep, I took the opportunity of pursuing my journey in their company. My companions shewed the utmost regret, and were deeply affected with melancholy, on parting with me: on my part I should have felt happy to have had it in my power to have evinced my gratitude, by some essential service, to those good and kind-hearted people.

The road my fellow-travellers and I were to pursue, lay over the Milk-mountain; but we found it so overgrown with brambles and rush-grass, that we were much impeded, and found ourselves extremely fatigued, although we had proceeded scarcely two leagues the first day. We stopped for the night on the banks of the Silver river*, but did not venture to sleep, as the flock we drove having attracted the wolves, they came in crowds around us in search of prey; nor dared we to light a fire, lest we should have set the long and sapless grass all in a blaze: my companions, therefore, as the moon shone bright, employed themselves in making mats of the rushes†.

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* This river is, it is true, but small, but it is equally full at all seasons of the year. Had M. Vaillant, as he pretends, passed over the other rivers in its neighbourhood, he must necessarily have crossed this also; yet he makes no mention of it. Its water is remarkably well tasted, and of a silver colour; hence, the Hottentots say, it obtained its name.

† With these rushes they also cover their huts; and they work them so closely that no water can penetrate through this covering. They make baskets of them too for holding their milk, which they do without losing any part of it. M. Vaillant is again erroneous in saying that the Hottentot huts are covered with skins; perhaps some skins might have been spread to dry on the tops of their huts at the time when he visited those places where he had any opportunity of making observations.—The manner of preparing the skins they make use of, is by first scraping off the hair, with sharp bones, commonly the skulls of sheep, or oxen; they then cover them all over with grease, and hang them in the sun.

As soon as morning dawned we again set forward; and when we had attained the summit of the Milk-mountain we sat down to take our breakfast, letting the sheep graze around us. I had scarcely commenced eating, when, on looking about, I perceived a party of men making towards us with the most eager speed; they seemed to be about ten in number. I pointed them out to my four fellow-travellers, and enquired if they knew who they were, and why they were in such haste to come up with us: they were so much alarmed that they were at first unable to answer me; on my repeating my question, they informed me that these were Buschmen*, who were coming with an intention of robbing them of their sheep. I now prepared for our defence, encouraged my affrighted companions, and gave them directions how to act. Having loaded my carabine, I fired it amongst them, and one man fell, the rest, having thrown some javelins at us, fled with as much precipitation as they had approached. My fellow-travellers were overjoyed at this deliverance, testified their gratitude, and assured me, both by their words and actions of their esteem, and the high opinion they entertained of me. Leaving the mountain, we proceeded to a kraal not far distant, where we stopped merely for a little refreshment, and then, the fineness of the night inviting us, we pursued our journey.

* Buschmen, or Boschmannen, robbers living in woods. Many travellers, M. Vaillant amongst the number, are of opinion that these wood-robbers are a kind of baltard-Hottentot; but I can assert from my own knowledge, that there are as many of other nations as of Hottentots amongst them. Even some Europeans associate with them, I mean deserters both from ships and from garrison duty, who take shelter with this banditti, and assist in all their plunder and robberies till they find opportunities of entering on board ships where they will be received. Even in the Wassekluft, between the table mountain and the Löwenkopfe, in the very neighbourhood of the Cape-town, a band of this description, a mixture of all nations, subsists in the same manner by plunder, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants of that town; from all parts of which their nightly fires may be plainly seen.

Early next morning we reached the hamlet where the habitations of my companions were situated. Overcome with fatigue from the length of way we had come, and having passed many sleepless nights, I sat down before the door of a hut, where I fell into a deep sleep. On awaking, I missed both my carabine and my watch. Much startled by this circumstance, I ran into the hut to make some enquiry, but could hear no tidings of them. At length one of my fellow-travellers coming up, conducted me to his own hut, where he restored them both to me; telling me he had used the precaution of taking them away, lest I should be robbed of them whilst asleep. He then brought me my breakfast, consisting of milk and broiled meat.

By the time I had finished this repast, the chief of the horde entered, dressed in his best attire. He bowed to me repeatedly, thanking me at the same time for the assistance I had afforded his people. He informed me that the same depredators had a few days before attacked and robbed the kraal of thirty sheep. I made some enquiry as to their number and situation, and learned that they were about thirty strong, and lived at a league distance, on the mountain Schlandenberg, where they had raised some entrenchments of wood, and enclosed them with a mound of stones, to secure themselves from being surprized by a sudden attack. I assured the chief that I thought it would be no difficult matter to subdue them; and offered, if I was certain of being well supported, to lead on a party against them.

The chief, after some objections, all of which I obviated, was highly pleased with my proposed plan; particularly when he considered that by this means he might recover the sheep which had been stolen from him: he said every thing to encourage his companions to unite with me in my design; enforcing it to them in strong terms, that unless those plunderers were dispersed, their property could never be secure. Thus animated, twenty out of eighty of the male inhabitants,

tants; which was the number in the hamlet, determined to march under my direction against these robbers. I immediately issued my instructions in what manner the attack was to be conducted; and, in the first place, desired that each man should furnish himself with a stout cudgel, a bundle of dry grass, and some fire-wood.

These preparations made, we began our march after night-fall, and without a word being uttered, approached the mountain; when got pretty near it I ordered a halt, and dividing my men into two bands, led on the one myself, and gave the command of the other to the chief; and we again put ourselves in motion. Having now reached the outer entrenchment, we set it on fire; and the wind encreasing the flames, they spread with such rapidity that the whole mountain soon appeared all one blaze. We now again took post at its foot, near those parts where we thought the besieged would be most likely to attempt making their escape. We had scarcely reached this position, when a dismal howl assailed our ears, and presently we beheld several men, miserably burnt, leap through the flames. I now gave the signal which I had concerted with my party to begin the attack; this encreased the consternation of our enemies; they fled in disorder; I fired amongst the fugitives; and my Hottentots falling on them, totally destroyed them. Thus did we succeed in extirpating this ferocious band, who had committed so many outrages. When it became light, my friends went in search of their sheep, all of which they found, and also many more belonging to their enemies, which were scattered over the sides of the mountain, and which they also carried off in triumph. The number of the enemy who were killed, or of those who escaped, could not be ascertained. The whole of the following day the mountain continued burning.

We were received with the loudest acclamations of joy on our return to the kraal; both men and women welcomed us with shouts of applause, which were redoubled on beholding their sheep brought back,
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and hearing that those disturbers of their tranquillity were all either killed or dispersed. I was much fatigued with my excursion, and retired to repose in the hut of the chief; but the Hottentots prolonged their rejoicings, and even spent the most of the night in festivity and merriment.

I passed another fortnight with these good people, and was treated by them with every mark of affection and respect; they vied with each other in discharging the rites of hospitality towards me, furnishing me with abundance of milk and meat, and providing for my comfort by every means in their power. The present season, however, being the pleasantest for travelling, I determined to take advantage of it to resume my journey. What they call their winter commences in April, which was now near, and the rains which then fall make the atmosphere more temperately cool.

CHAP. III.

After having rested from his fatigues for some time at a Hottentot kraal, the author directs his course eastward towards Fish river.—Travels with added speed, that he may have the advantage of the coolness of the winter season for his journey, shunning both the plantations and kraals, and quits the territories of the company.—Some account of the customs and manners of the Hottentots.—Vaillant refuted in his assertions on this subject.—The author visits the plantation of M. Holrath.—Enters Caffraria on the 29th of March.—Manners, customs, and ceremonies of the Caffres.—The author conceives hopes of getting back to Europe.—For this purpose undertakes a journey to the sea-coast, in company with twenty-seven Caffres, in search of a French vessel which had been shipwrecked.—They acquire some booty, and the author, from the success of this enterprize, obtains the affection and high opinion of the whole kraal, who chuse him deputy, or under-mampa, and entreat him to spend his life amongst them.

I TOOK leave of my kind hosts on the 25th of March, and travelled eastward, on the road which leads to Fish-river. I was very careful in avoiding the habitations of the planters, which are very numerous in this part of the country. I passed another Hottentot hamlet without stopping, and reached one still further on, where I took up my lodging for the night, and was entertained with the utmost kindness. This is the last kraal to be met with in the company's territory; for although it is upwards of a day's journey from thence to the confines of Caffraria, yet in the direct line not another is situated. The planters, who are in a state of perpetual warfare with the Caffres, do not wish to extend their settlements too near the frontiers, as in case of hostilities whole hordes of Hottentots sometimes lose both their huts and their cattle. The kraal, of which I have been speaking, is situated on the banks of the Fish-river, near where it branches out into two distinct streams; one of which
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pursues its course between the mountains, watering different plantations; the other flows in a southern direction till it empties itself into the Silver-river, which I have made mention of in the last chapter.

M. Vaillant has been very copious in his details respecting the Hottentots, their characters, customs, and manners; but as that gentleman is far from being always accurate, I shall here offer my observations on the same subject.

Each horde has a chief, to whom they give the title of *montur*. This dignity is not hereditary, but bestowed by election on him who has most distinguished himself by heroic achievements, such as the destruction of a mischievous wild beast, victories gained over enemies, &c. The company present to each kraal, whether within or beyond the limits of their possessions, a large stick with a silver head, on which their arms are engraved: this is given into the charge of the chief, and is carried by him in all public solemnities. To each individual Hottentot is allowed by the company two pounds of tobacco, and two kams of brandy, yearly: for this they are required to learn something of the Dutch language; those who live in the neighbourhood of planters, find no difficulty in fulfilling this article; but others situated further in the country, find the task not so easy. A usual method is, when any *montur* goes to Cape-town, he carries with him a man belonging to his horde, who is employed to hew wood, or act in some other menial capacity at the castle; that by conversing with the soldiers or other inhabitants of the town, he may gain a knowledge of the dialect. The following year, should the *montur* again visit the Cape, this man is exchanged for one who then accompanies him; and so on still in rotation*.

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* It is almost impossible for strangers to acquire the pronunciation of the Hottentot language, as spoken by the natives; nor can the sounds or expression of the words be communicated by writing, so as to form a grammar for learning it; it must be heard to be imitated with any degree of success. There is a
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The Hottentots are, I believe, the laziest people existing; from this cause, and in some parts from a scarcity of water, they are filthy in their persons to a most incredible degree. Their extreme inactivity prevents their cultivating their grounds; and the traveller sees spots the most fertile lying waste: at distant spaces only sometimes are to be met with small quantities of Indian corn. Most of their time is spent in the rearing of cattle, or in hunting; the latter, indeed, they only have recourse to when necessity, in case of a failure of provisions, compels them to it. Although they might with very little exertion, particularly in the winter season, have large supplies of fish, they will not take the trouble of catching them; instances have even been known when some amongst them have been, for several days together without provisions, and in danger of famishing, yet still this resource was neglected. The company have repeatedly held out encouragement to them, by offers of supplying them with fishing nets, and corn for purposes of husbandry; or of placing them in habitations contiguous to the Cape, that they may find some means of industry. The two former benefits they will not make use of; and the latter proposal they reject, for the very reasons which should induce them to accept it, lest they should be obliged to employ themselves in any kind of labour: they prefer a miserable existence in their deserts in the midst of their cattle, very little inferior to them; and from pusillanimity of mind, allow themselves to be chased now to the southward by the Caffres, at other times eastward by the Buschmen; though, would they exert an independent spirit, they might make their enemies feel their prowess;—but never to look beyond the present moment, is the distinguishing mark of their character.

Kind of motion of the tongue, and certain characteristic peculiarities; which cannot be attained by foreigners. M. Vaillant has observed, with a great deal of justice, that none but the natives accustomed to it from childhood can overcome the difficulty attending the pronunciation of the consonants.

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The women are alert and industrious in the management of household affairs, but fond of finery, and vain of their personal charms. Mothers display extreme tenderness for their children, whom they consider as their own peculiar treasure whilst at the breast; so much so, that the husband, during that period, must not interfere about them, nor even take them in his arms; whilst, in every other respect, he treats his wife as his slave. This privilege was assumed by the women as a means of putting a stop to a species of savage barbarity practised by some of the men, who, when the Portuguese first visited that country, sold them their infant offspring for a little tobacco or brandy. The children are suckled four months; their mothers in the day-time carrying them wherever they go on their backs; and at night, wrapping a sheep-skin around them, they fasten them to their waists: when weaned, a mat is spread on the grass, on which the infant is laid, and is from that time served with the same food as the rest of the family.

The cattle are also very much the objects of the women's attention. I have seen them milk their cows, and can answer for it, that the singular mode of doing so, as described by M. Vaillant, is not practised amongst them; nor can I at all agree with him in another circumstance which he asserts as a fact, that if a calf happens to die a natural death, they take off the skin and wrap it round the body of a living calf. I think the Hottentots too prudent thus to run the risk of spreading infection amongst their cattle, which appears from their custom of burying all that die thus at least a league from the kraal.

I was much pleased with the manner in which they treat their dead. They never inter a corpse till fully ascertained that there are no longer any remains of life. Those who die of lingering complaints, they beat, shake, and pinch, in order to recall the senses, in case the soul have not yet forsaken the body: if these efforts do not succeed to restore life, the deceased is buried in the evening; a last attempt being then made for the purpose

purpose of recovery. If the person who has died was young, or has been taken suddenly off, means still more powerful are used; the soles of the feet are scarified with a *hassagay* *, a red hot iron is held beneath the nose, the body rubbed all over, and if no signs of life are discovered, the corpse is carried out and laid before the door of the hut, where it is watched by some persons of the family till the following evening, and then interred; and lest wild beasts should come and tear open the grave, the friends of the deceased continue to watch it for eight-and-twenty days after the burial. I refer my readers to M. Vailant for an account of other ceremonies and usages amongst these people; I have only described such as I found totally different from the representations given by that writer.

March the 26th I again set forward, directing my course along the banks of the great Fish-river. At some distance on each side of me I saw several other kraals, which are very thickly scattered about in this part of the country, where excellent water and good pasturage abound; but as I before mentioned, they are not in the direct line of travel, and after proceeding a few leagues I saw no more. I rested for this night in a thicket near the river, lighted a fire, and regaled myself with some cold meat I had brought with me. In the morning I came to a plantation belonging to a M. Hobrath, which I wished to pass without being observed; but in this I was disappointed; M. Hobrath himself happened to be out on a hunting party, and on my approach, knew and accosted me. He pressed me to accompany him home with much appearance of friendship, but I feared to comply, lest I should incur the danger of being frustrated in my plan. He saw my embarrassment, from whence he concluded I was a deserter, but told me he would not attempt to detain me as such. I answered, that if he did, I was

* They dip the points of these weapons in poison; but only when used in war.

determined he should not carry me to the Cape alive. Upon conversing further, he made me a proposal to take up my abode with him for some time, and to accept the place of schoolmaster*, which was then vacant. I promised compliance, but said, with his permission, I wished first to visit Caffraria, which I had a curiosity to see; to this he agreed, and I accordingly set forward. I soon reached a place called Bruynoogte, or Bruyntjes-oogte; here I met with a horde of Hottentots, and saw to the southward the last plantation within the confines of the frontiers which divide the territory of the company from Caffraria. A charming country now opened itself to my view; beneath my eye lay stretched a beautiful plain, four miles in length, and one and a half in breadth, extending to the feet of the Caffrarian mountains.

On the 29th I passed the borders and entered Caffraria; here, innumerable obstacles and threatening dangers opposed themselves to my progress; steep mountains, up which I was obliged to clamber with both pain and hazard; and it was with difficulty I descended before night, wearied with my toils, into the valley beneath. Several empty huts were here scattered around, into one of which I entered, and took up my night's lodging; these abodes seemed to have been forsaken by their inhabitants, probably from the want of water. As day began to dawn, I was awoken and alarmed by the howling of wolves; I found, however, there were but a very few, who had approached my hut, and soon dispersed. I now arose, and, directing my course north-east, reached a small mountain, which on passing over, as I was obliged to do, I was much retarded by the long and thick growth of the rushes with which it was covered. I next came to a river which flowed from east to west, and which I forded; it was about six feet wide and four deep; the water was rather acid in taste, and of a red colour.

* The schoolmaster is also overseer of the slaves belonging to the plantation.

On the 1st of April I passed through a sweetly smiling valley, between two ridges of mountains covered with fertility; the road smooth and easy. Beyond the mountain to the south were some huts, of which, about noon, I came in sight; to those I bent my steps, and reached them in the evening. As I approached, I was met and accosted by three of the natives, who were armed; they seemed to interrogate me, and as I could judge from their gestures, and a few of their words which I understood, to the following effect: "Whither do you go? whence come? are you a planter?" I answered them in the Hottentot language, intermixed with as much as I knew of the Caffrarian, that I was a deserter from the Cape. After this examination, they led the way to the kraal, where I followed them; having first given them to understand by signs that they must not attempt to deprive me of my musket. There were twenty-two huts in this kraal, and the inhabitants seemed more than proportionably numerous. They were all ranged before their huts as I entered, and gazed at me with eager curiosity; they directed some questions to my conductors, which seemed to say; "Who is this stranger, and what is his business amongst us?" A young man, who I found was their mampá or chief, after having viewed me from head to foot, addressed himself to me, inviting me to drink some milk; I affected not to understand him perfectly; he then advanced, took me by the hand, and led me into his hut, where he made me a sign to sit down on a mat which was spread on the floor. He wanted to take my musket from me, and place it in a corner to which he pointed, but I would not part with it till I had drawn the charge, which I shewed him, and then placed it myself in a corner near me. All this he viewed with the utmost indifference, which rather surprized me; but I concluded from hence that he was totally unacquainted with the nature or use of fire-arms; but in this I was mistaken, as I discovered the next day. I was now presented with some parched Indian corn by the wife of the mampá, and with one of their pretty rush baskets

baskets filled with milk. Having supped, I lay down upon my mat beneath the covering of a buffalo-skin which was given me; and, with my knapsack for a pillow, enjoyed a night of profound and peaceable repose amidst a race of beings who are described as ferocious and cruel in the extreme.

I did not awake till eight o'clock the following morning, when I found myself quite alone in the hut, and, on examination, missed not only my carbine, but the whole of my powder and ball from amongst my baggage. I at first supposed that they might be deposited in some other part of the hut, but sought for them every where in vain. As this was rather serious, I hastened out in search of the mampa my host, whom I met near the door of the hut with my gun in his hand; he burst into a loud laugh on seeing me; and by various motions with it, shewed he was not unaccustomed to the use of such weapons. He restored me mine again with the powder and ball, and I was rejoiced to have them once more in my possession.

My breakfast was now brought me, consisting of some broiled mutton and warmed milk: whilst I was eating it, my host talked a great deal, at the same time frequently putting himself into the attitude of firing a gun, which, though I did not understand what he said, informed me that shooting was the subject on which he thus harangued; this was further confirmed by the entrance of two of his friends who inhabited the same hut, bearing a dead *umripat** between them. I soon perceived the wound which had been made by the ball†; and from thence found it had been killed by the mampa with my gun. The

* Of the calitz species; not unlike the chamois of Europe; only that the skin is spotted like a leopard.

† The barrel of my carbine was bored for a two ounce ball, like most of those used at the Cape, for the greater certainty of hitting, when aimed at the wild beasts. Those of this width, as well as those which carry three and four ounce balls, are brought there from England.

animal was then quickly skinned and cut in pieces; and at dinner time some of the meat was broiled on the coals, on which we all made a hearty meal.

This repast finished, I was preparing to set out, but was pressed to stay and accompany a party who were going to the chase. We set out accordingly, and were joined by four other Caffres, one of whom could speak a little Dutch which he had picked up at the Cape. He pointed to some goats, and begged of me to shoot one of them; I answered, that I hoped we should soon find better game; but that my gun was very much at the mampa's service if he wished to make a trial. He was highly pleased with my offer, which he instantly accepted; and aiming at a herd of about twenty goats, shot an old and a young one, which seemed to afford him infinite joy. I enquired by what means he had become so expert in the use of fire-arms, as I had not seen any in the kraal, and of course supposed they possessed none. I was answered, through my interpreter, that formerly they had obtained from their neighbours the Tembukins fire-arms, powder and ball, in exchange for some sheep; but that having been for a long time past on terms of hostility with that nation, the supply of the two latter articles had been stopped; and, consequently, the arms being of no use, they had beaten them into arrows at the expence of a great deal of labour.

Our sport ended, we returned to the kraal, when I was asked by the mampa to attend him with some other persons in a sort of procession through it, to invite all the inhabitants to a festival which he intended to celebrate the following day, in commemoration of a signal victory gained three years before over their enemies. All remained perfectly tranquil during the rest of the evening; but very early the succeeding morning I was roused by the sound of voices and the trampling of feet on the outside of our hut, whilst each within it, except myself, were buried in repose. I arose with the intention of opening the door, but found the fastening so complicated as to baffle all my efforts.

efforts. The use of iron locks and bars are not known here, but in their stead their huts are secured by wooden bolts of a singular construction. My companions were by this time awake, and all was soon in motion. On our issuing forth, we found the outside of the hut covered over with palm-branches, others were also strewed on the ground before it. The people now surrounded their mampa with songs of gratulation; and striking two palm-branches into the bandeau which encircled his head, he appeared as if ornamented with the antlers of a stag; a branch of the same kind was also placed in each hand, and then the procession began to move forward. They marched three times round each hut in the kraal, which took them up about the space of two hours. When this ceremony was over, a large fire was lighted in the most central situation, round which they all seated themselves singing in concert.

None of the women had yet made their appearance, or taken any part in the solemnity; they now advanced, each bearing two palm-branches: with various motions, and assuming various attitudes, the married women presented those they carried to their husbands; whilst the single ones distributed theirs with the same ceremonies to the unmarried men. They all now joined hands in a dance round the fire, and then flung their palm-branches into it. After this the women went back to their huts, and soon returned with a quantity of milk, which was drank by the men who had resumed their seats round the fire. Two young couple were now placed within the circle to be married; the ceremony was performed thus: The mothers of the two young women advanced, each leading her daughter in one hand, and carrying in the other two baskets of milk; within a few paces of the fire they halted; the two fathers then came forward, and taking off a part of their daughters' clothing, delivered them to their future husbands, who, on receiving them, were informed what dowers they were to have with them, which consisted of a few sheep,

some buffaloes, &c. Whilst this business was arranging, the mothers approaching nearer with their baskets of milk, each of the bridegrooms received one. The nearest relations on both sides then advanced, and the treaty respecting the dowers was finally settled. When all was agreed on, each present drank in turns of the baskets of milk; the fathers then delivered that part of their daughter's dress which they had taken off to their sons-in law; who again put them on with some ceremonies, intimating that none but themselves had now any right over them. A sheep was then killed, the flesh broiled, and all the company partook of it: the dancing and singing was then renewed, and continued till the night was far advanced. The two brides returned to the huts of their respective fathers till new ones should be built for the new married couples, which I was informed was to be done the next day by their relations; and that they were to be covered with skins whilst the proper covering of woven rushes were preparing for them; and that then the dowers were to be carried thither; and the bridegrooms, accompanied by all the relations, were to take possession.

In cases of slight offences or petty disputes amongst these people, the oldest persons of the families concerned accommodate the differences. When weighty crimes are to be judged, they are brought before the entire horde.

Although I had to all appearance obtained the friendship of the mampa, yet I was not admitted to take any part in the above described festival, but left sitting before the door of his hut; from whence, however, I could see distinctly all that passed: my interpreter too was dispatched to me with some flesh and milk, and apologized for this exclusion by saying that, as a stranger, I could not with propriety have assisted in the solemnity. When night approached, I laid myself down behind the hut; and, after having spent some hours in ruminating on what was to be my future destiny, I sunk into a profound sleep. When I awoke,

awoke, which was at dawn of day, I found that a buffalo-skin had been spread over me for a covering by my host. I arose with a determination to set out immediately on my journey; but that was not to be accomplished, unless I chose to leave all my property, including my carabine, behind me, as the hut door was strongly fastened. The sun had risen high above the horizon, and shone with resplendent brightness before I heard any one stir; at length the mistress of the habitation came forth to milk her cows. I expressed to her by signs, that she would oblige me much by bringing me my baggage; but she gave me to understand, in the same mute language, that she could not do so without her husband's consent, who was not yet awake. She invited me in the mean time to accompany her; I complied without once reflecting on the risk I might run by doing so, as jealousy is one of the leading characteristics of the men here. In her way she called at some of the neighbouring huts; and our party was increased by the women belonging to them, who had also cows to milk.

On a beautiful plain, about a quarter of a mile from the kraal, we found the herd grazing; it consisted of a vast number of the finest cattle I had yet seen. One person holds the cow whilst another milks her with incredible celerity; so that, as two persons are required, the mistresses of two or more huts generally go together as mutual assistants to each other. The cows here give but a very small quantity of milk; my hostess got but about five kans from six cows, though it was now the season when they usually yield the most. One reason for this may be the intense heat of the climate; another cause also subsists which prevents the proprietors from getting all they might; the herdsmen, to whom their cattle are entrusted, are often before hand with them, and clandestinely appropriate the greater part of this produce to themselves. I observed that most of the cows horns here were twisted into various uncommon shapes; and had figures indented on them; this, as I afterwards under-

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stood,

stood, is a universal custom amongst the Caffres, and answers a very useful purpose; for the wolves and tigers sometimes chasing one herd amongst another, would create the utmost confusion, were there not distinguishing marks to enable each kraal to know their own: I have often seen the horns split, and each part twisted into grotesque forms, every one endeavouring to make his as different as he can from those of his neighbour.

On our return from the pasture I met the mampa, who had been in search of me all over the kraal; he shewed much joy on seeing me again, and quickening his pace to come up to me, enquired by signs where I had been; I answered by pointing to the milking party, at which he laughed heartily; and taking me by the hand, led me into his hut, where he desired his wife to let us have some warm milk, and pressed me to eat heartily of some meat which was also produced. And here let me remark, that in eating and drinking the Caffres are remarkably moderate; and that whilst with them, the portions of flesh and milk allotted me, seldom satisfied my hunger or quenched my thirst.

When our breakfast was over, I mentioned to the mampa my intention of setting out on my journey, as I did not wish to lose more time; I then put two galders into his hand, which, after looking at them for some time, he returned; finding I persisted in my resolution, he laid hold of my baggage, entreated that I would defer my departure at least for that day; then giving my things in charge to his wife, he took my hand to lead me out; I at first hesitated; but at length thought it best to consent with a good grace.

He then conducted me to a copse, where we found several men busily employed in tearing off the branches from some trees, and cutting down the trunks of others. I assisted them in their work; and having pulled off a great many boughs, I made them up in bundles, and took them on my shoulders. The rest, some with timber, others with branches, led the way to the kraal, where I followed them. Here, of the materials

materials thus provided, in about the space of two hours were reared two huts for the reception of the new married pairs. This work finished, nothing was to be seen or heard but mirth and rejoicings: each individual mingled in the dance, and joined in the song; rings were formed round every hut, and various other ceremonies performed. Plums, millet, and Indian corn, were served round as refreshments: some of the same, called in their language oghang, batoni and melis, were hung up at the ends of the newly erected huts as marriage presents. As my gift, with a view of distinguishing myself, I hung a gilder to each hut, and perceived they were accepted with singular pleasure by the young brides-folks, which gratified me very much. I entered into all their festivity, and only regretted that I could not converse with them in their own language. I danced with a young girl, and sung her some German songs, which attracted the attention of all the company, I had got into a sort of scrape by at first choosing for my partner in the dance a young married woman; her husband took her from me, and would perhaps have shewed his resentment by some ill-treatment, had not the mampa interposed and explained to him, that it was from not being acquainted with their customs that I had committed this mistake; the girl I have mentioned was then brought me, with whom there was no objection to my dancing.

I was now determined that nothing further should retard my departure; accordingly the next morning I took leave of the mampa, requesting his acceptance of two gilders; this he positively refused; and on my pressing him further, begged I would give them to his wife in his stead; but when I told him that I had given her two also, he at length took them, expressing the highest gratitude. He, in his turn, presented me with some roasted meat for my journey, and accompanied me to the boundaries of his possessions, which was about a league distant from the hamlet. I thence

bent my course towards the Eirekoha, or great baboon-mountains.

The kraal which I had now quitted, as I at first mentioned, contained twenty-two huts; its population was about three hundred souls. It stood on the banks of the Fish-river to the right, and extended to a chain of mountains about eight days journey in length; and which are at intervals intersected by the river, which at different points branching out into many distinct streams, is at length reunited*. In the course of this day's journey I crossed the river at a part where its depth was not more than three feet; and entering a little wood on a rising ground near its banks, took up my lodging there for the night. I lighted a fire, and having gathered some muscles whilst I walked by the stream, I dressed them for my supper; and then stretched myself in the most commodious situation for repose. Before I went to sleep, on looking further up the mountain, I perceived a large fire burning; from hence I concluded I was not far distant from some kraal; and that the herdsmen belonging to it had lighted this fire to secure their cattle from the attacks of wolves and tigers. This circumstance inspired me with pleasure, and my rest was so profound, that I did not awake till eight o'clock the succeeding morning. I then arose, and pursuing my journey in the direction which led to where I had seen the fire, about noon I arrived at the spot. On my approach to it, I met two young Caffres; on my crying out

* M. Vaillant is erroneous in his account of this river. It has its source from the mountain Haboromto, immediately opposite the snowy mountain; thence flowing in a winding course to the Yakata, the highest mountain within the circumference of three hundred miles, it holds its progress in a straight line to the sea. M. Vaillant would have us believe that he quitted his line of travel on purpose to pursue the course of this river; but it is scarcely probable he should have done so, as in that case he must for six or eight days have traversed a chain of vast mountains, and in the intermediate valleys passed over immense swamps. It must be Blood-river, not that I have been describing, which he means.

"*tabahara*," "I am a good friend," they stopped till I came up with them. I enquired from them at what distance their kraal was situated, and they pointed out the place to me very near us on the side of the mountain. The younger of the two undertook to be my guide, and conducted me to it. When come near enough to be heard by his friends, he exclaimed, "*O ma hara tuko! O ma hara tuko!*" "A white friend! a white friend!" About fifty persons of both sexes and all ages now came pouring out of the huts, and ran to meet us. An old man of the number, whilst yet at some distance, held out his hand to me saying, "*Hogafemay tuko?*" "Whence come you friend?" I replied, "*Bikagari knotuore*," "I am a Dutch deserter." I was then led by my young guide to the hut of the man who had thus accosted me. A rush mat was spread for me, and I sat down. I was now surrounded by a crowd of natives old and young, who gazed at me, laughed and nodded by turns. They then approached nearer and began to touch me. One pushed me with a finger, a second pulled my hair, and a third my clothes. This teased and disconcerted me. I knew not what means I should use to rid myself of them. I at length pointed my carabine towards them, but this had not the desired effect. My ancient host, however, perceiving how much I was annoyed by them, spoke to me with a voice of kindness; and as well as I could comprehend, seemed to apologize, saying, that no insult was meant me, and that the spectators were merely actuated by curiosity, having never before seen a white man. This explanation quieted my apprehensions; and when they renewed their playful attacks, I caught hold of one of the young girls and kissed her. This raised a general laugh, and many of the company called out, "*Naghaipti, naghaipti*," "very well, very well;" whilst the girl, who seemed highly pleased, remained quietly reclined in my arms; and a little after, when the old man brought me some millet and milk, she flew out, and presently returned with a basket of the best goat's milk, which she pre-

sent to me. Her mother now too accompanied her, and I perceived her daughter had informed her of my piece of gallantry, and that, from the satisfaction expressed in her countenance, it had met with her approbation. She gave me to understand by signs, that she had a hut very much at my service, and that she wished to engage me to take up my residence amongst them. The old man also appeared to solicit me to the same purpose. Unwilling to wound them by an absolute refusal, I replied, that I should first make an excursion to see the country, and then return to them, if I escaped being killed by the natives. This appeared to give them much pleasure; but they advised me above all things to endeavour to avoid falling in with the Tambukins, a ferocious horde, who infested those parts, and who made no scruple to murder even the inhabitants of the country, could they thereby ensure ever so trifling a booty. This, however, I afterwards found was very contrary to reality; many hordes I met with being much more addicted to plunder and cruelty than the Tambukins.

I now determined that for the future, whilst I remained in the country, to be very careful not to display any of my money, lest I should become the victim of avarice and rapacity: nor could I avoid giving way to despondency, when I reflected seriously on my present situation; in a strange country, surrounded by savage nations, who were familiarized with murder, and to whose ferocity I was hourly exposed: add to this the dangers, toils and difficulties which still awaited me in other respects; certainly much greater than any I had yet encountered; being totally ignorant of the roads, not knowing enough of the language to make myself understood, and unacquainted with the natural productions of the country, should its fruits, roots or vegetables of any kind become necessary for my subsistence: my clothes too were worn almost to rags, without any possible means of renewing my wardrobe: my small stock of gunpowder was nearly expended; and when gone, how should I defend myself against the attacks of un-
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pitying man or ferocious beasts? Depressed by these foreboding apprehensions, my food had no longer its accustomed relish; I became emaciated and feeble. Reflecting, however, that I had no other alternative but that of spending the remainder of my days with the race of savages amongst whom I now was, or of prosecuting my journey with spirit, I rested my security on the unerring dispensations of Providence, and my mind regained its wonted serenity.

As I was preparing for my departure on the following morning, my old host mentioned to me that he had *logo oin*, fourteen full moons since, on the *coro khaia*, salt mountains, seen some persons of my colour, and dressed like me. I enquired with eagerness where those mountains were situated; when, pointing to the east, he directed my eyes to a small chain which lay in the road I had intended to pursue: he further added, that I should have but five days journey to the sea, from whence those strangers had come. The gloom which had lately possessed my mind now yielded to the sincerest joy; I looked forward with the delightful hope of soon joining a party of Europeans, in whose company I should perform the remainder of my journey. And here let me mention to my readers, once for all, that when I speak of conversing with the Caffres, the term is not to be understood in a literal sense; those dialogues being generally carried on by signs and gestures; with sometimes the assistance of a very few unconnected words.

It was necessary for me, in order to reach the place thus described to me, to return half a day's journey in the track by which I had come hither, as I must repass the Fish-river. I did so, and spent the night on the very spot I had done the one previous to my arrival at the last-visited kraal. I then ascended one of the mountains, which formed the chain I had seen; and here innumerable obstructions and difficulties presented themselves to impede my progress: whilst the sun's scorching rays beamed full on me, I was obliged to scale the steepest rocks in endless succession, whilst the slightest
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overpoise might have precipitated me into the immeasurable abyss beneath. Did a few trees offer a friendly shade, the tangled rushes which rose high around me on every side prevented my reaching it; and no refreshing stream presented itself to cool my parched mouth. Where those rushes grew, it is true, might have afforded me some water, but its fetid stench, and the insects with which it swarmed, made it horridly disgusting. To allay my raging thirst, therefore, I was at length obliged to have recourse to the expedient of shooting a goat and using its blood; I also took a leg of the animal with me, but was soon obliged to fling it away, as the wolves and tygers, attracted by the scent of the flesh, began to pursue me.

After having struggled through all these difficulties, on the third day I descended into a richly fertile plain; but still no water appeared to cool or refresh me: the trees, however, were numerous and luxuriant, and amongst these I discovered one which in growth resembled an oak, but which bore a fruit something like our yellow plums. This was a most welcome regale to me; six or eight of these I devoured with eagerness, and at first found them delicious; but they soon became so roughly acid as to make my mouth bleed: I put some of them in my pocket, however, as a resource against the degree of thirst I had lately suffered; and on lighting a fire in the evening roasted them by it, which improved their taste extremely. There are many of these trees in the interior of the country, as I afterwards found; however, from this experiment I became more cautious in eating of their fruit, which in some places the natives call *ohagma*, in others beyond Caffraria, *ogheghe*.

Exhausted with fatigue, and still suffering extremely from thirst, I cast my eyes around in search of some friendly spring, when, to my unspeakable joy, I discovered a large kraal at no great distance from me, and here I knew there must be water: I accordingly went in search of it, and having succeeded, I threw myself down on the brink of the stream and indulged in repeated.

peated draughts; and never were the most costly wines relished with more delight, than was this simple element now by me. I determined not to enter the kraal, fearful of meeting with rough treatment amongst those savages, and besides I thought no time was to be lost in my search of the Europeans of whom I had heard, and whom I wished so ardently to join. Just as I was attempting to pass it, however, several girls came towards the well for water; at sight of me they screamed aloud, threw down their water-vessels, and ran with precipitation back to the kraal. Having filled my leathern bottle, I followed them, and within a few paces of the huts saw about twenty of the male inhabitants, armed with clubs, advancing to meet me; one of them coming close up to me, demanded of what nation I was? I answered by pointing to the west; he then laid hold of my carabine, which I gave up without resistance, but signed to him that it was charged: this made him cautious: he took it in both hands, pointing it upwards, and then bending his way towards the huts, beckoned to me to follow. I complied, and was led to the centre of the kraal, where a grassy space invited me to rest my weary limbs. Scarcely was I seated before I was surrounded by several hundred Caffres: I looked around to see if my conductor was amongst them, but found he had disappeared, carrying my carabine with him. I now stood up, and enquired by signs which way he was gone; some of the company pointed to his hut, but seemed to say I need be under no apprehensions. I then resumed my seat, and begged for something to eat; they brought me a cake * of a most unpleasant taste, covered with ashes and full of coals; my intense hunger, however, obliged me to eat it.

* These cakes are made of a sort of millet, called *myhuofa*, which is prepared for the purpose, in vessels made of the trunks of trees hollowed; it is afterwards mixed with milk and water, and boiled to a consistency; then spread on leaves to dry in the sun; and, lastly, baked on the fire.

Two men now approached, and I was given to understand by significant signs from some of the by-standers, that one of them had my carabine. I fixed my eyes upon him, but he spoke to me in so obliging a manner, and made such friendly signs, as persuaded me he had no hostile intentions, but took my gun to take care of it for me. His companion, a man who appeared much more advanced in years, was taller and more robust, shewed me still more kindness. He desired I should have some milk to drink, and seemed uneasy at my being exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. At length he waved a club he had in his hand, as a signal for me to follow him. I arose, and he led the way to a shady spot, where I sat down on a green bank, and some milk was brought me by a girl, in a wooden vessel.

When I had drank and was somewhat rested from my fatigue, I intimated a wish to set out, as I had much farther to travel. The girl was then dispatched for my carabine, and on her return with it, which was immediate, she was accompanied by a man who, I found, could speak a little Dutch. He began to interrogate me, asked whence I came, whither I was going, with some other questions. I answered, that I had come from the Cape, and was on my way to that quarter of the globe from whence ships come *. My host laughed heartily on hearing this, and informed me, through my interpreter, that in attempting to pass through the territories of any of the nations with which they were surrounded, my life would be exposed to the most imminent peril; that therefore I should do much better to take up my abode amongst them, who already beheld me with partiality, and had every inclination to serve me. I further learned from the interpreter, that not long before a ship had been wrecked on the neighbouring coast; that a number of the persons on board

* These people were not unacquainted with ships, being situated not far from the sea.

had escaped the dangers of the sea and had visited them; but on proceeding further into the country, had fallen victims to the barbarity of the natives, who had not only plundered, but murdered them*. My host then went into his hut, from whence he quickly returned, bringing, for my inspection, two swords, a pistol entirely new, and some gold coins, which had been given him by these unfortunate men. The money was stamped with the arms of France. Most sincerely did I regret, that in all probability I should now never meet with their former possessors. Entertaining some doubts, however, of the accounts which had been given me of the ferocity of the neighbouring nations, I came to the decision of remaining where I was for some time longer, in order to gain all the information I could on the subject. Here then I continued four weeks, during which time I was treated with the most

* By displaying their riches incautiously, an error too common amongst seafaring men, they had undoubtedly exposed themselves to this misfortune. Some time before I left the Cape, two sailors from on board this same vessel, had been taken up by some of the planters, and brought in prisoners there. They were not able to ascertain the place where they had been wrecked, but gave the following account of the cause. A mutiny breaking out amongst the crew, every officer on board fell sacrifices to the barbarity of the ruffians of whom it was composed, who then ran the ship on shore, and taking out the money and every thing of any value that was portable, made their way into the country. For two months the whole party ranged through it unmolested; at length meeting with a numerous band of the natives, who attacked them with javelins, they were routed, most of them killed on the spot, and those who survived despoiled of all. Of these survivors, four in number, two died of their wounds in the course of a few days; the other two made their way to the Cape, and were taken prisoners, as I have mentioned. They strenuously denied having taken any part in the mutiny, which, on the contrary, they said, they had taken all the methods in their power to suppress, and had thence exposed themselves to the vengeance of their comrades, who had made many attempts on their lives. The French consul, however, convinced of their guilt, sent them into confinement on the island where the prisoners are kept; from thence they were soon after conveyed to France, where, it is most probable, they met with the fate they merited.

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unremitting kindness by the inhabitants, who all joined in frequently pressing me to continue amongst them. In this interval I had an opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the characters, customs, manners, and internal police of this horde; of which, however, I shall only mention such particulars as have not been correctly stated by M. Vaillant.

This writer, for instance, asserts that earthen-ware vessels are fabricated by the women of Caffraria; on the contrary, to my certain knowledge, they do not possess an article of that kind within a circuit of five or six hundred miles. There are manufactories of this ware at the Cape; but in the intermediate space between that and the coast of Congo, where it is also made, there is none to be found. Baskets made of rushes, hollowed stems of trees, and calabashes, are here used in their stead. M. Vaillant, whilst he thus attributes to those nations with which he pretends to be so well acquainted, what they have not the least knowledge of, arrogates to himself the merit of having instructed them in matters of which they have possessed the knowledge for centuries back. For instance, he tells us with much self-applause, that he was the first who shewed them the construction and use of bellows; but this is a mistake of the grossest nature, for it is a well known fact, that these machines were in use amongst them when governor Van Stiel established the colony of Stielen's-busch, † so named from him and from a wood on the grounds. At that time they also made hammers, smiths tongs or pincers, chains, and many other articles of iron-work. These they conveyed by caravans to the Cape, and brought back in exchange bars of iron, utensils for cookery, glass beads, &c. By degrees, as the Dutch planters extended their possessions, and became more numerous, the Caffres, the boundaries of whose territory had formerly been the great Fish-river, were compelled to retire three days

† *Stellenbosch*, according to M. Vaillant's erroneous orthography.

journey further into the interior of the country; and even there, being much molested by the planters and Hottentots, they left off trading to the Cape with the articles I have mentioned above; in consequence their manufactures were neglected, and in a great measure put a stop to. In process of time M. Dalbach, a Batavian, having been appointed governor at the Cape, he concluded a truce of twenty years with the Caffres, who were obliged by one of its articles to send twelve young men each year to the Cape, not as slaves, but to be employed as servants of the company, and to be exchanged at the stated periods for a like number to be received in the same capacity. These men learned the Dutch language, and were besides instructed in the manufacturing of various kinds of tools and useful articles. Is it not then natural to suppose, that bellows, so commonly used, and of so simple a construction, must not only have been seen, but imitated by these men on their return to their own country.

The art of manufacturing iron has been known in Caffraria ever since the year 1739, when a Portuguese ship being stranded on the coast, forty-three of the crew, who had escaped the wreck, remained amongst the inhabitants there till the year 1743; and having brought with them from their vessel all the iron which was on board, with several other articles, they taught them the method of forging spears, such as were used in Spain, many of which are still to be seen at the Cape. These weapons, however, being found unweildy and troublesome, did not long remain in use, the Caffres converting them into javelins. I can also affirm, that in most of the Caffrarian hordes which I visited, I found smiths forges, with all the necessary appendages, as, stone anvils, hammers, one end flat, the other chissel-edged; tongs, and, in short, every thing useful in that way. Instead of files, they use a particular kind of stones, which they make answer the purpose nearly as well. The huts of the Caffres are of a similar construction with those of the Hottentots.

tentots, and covered in the same manner with rush matting.

I must also point out as erroneous M. Vaillant's assertion, that the Caffres never inter their dead, but expose them to be devoured by wild beasts, by depositing them in a trench beyond the limits of the kraal. On the contrary, a separate grave is dug for each corpse, and in such a situation as to prevent any savage animal from getting to it.

M. Vaillant is perfectly accurate in his description of the dress, and of the weapons used by this nation; but he is again in an error when he states that they are governed by a king, which office, according to him, is hereditary. This mistake may have arisen from a saying which is common at the Cape, of any person remarkably slovenly in his person, "he is a king of Caffraria;" but certainly no such dignity in reality exists amongst them. Upwards of seventy years since, it is true, there were several distinct kraals united under one chief, who might perhaps have borne the title of king. The last who enjoyed this supremacy, was named Pharao; he was slain in an engagement with the planters, in an incursion made by them into Caffraria. At the time M. Vaillant says he visited that country, even the name of Pharao was probably recollected but by few; certainly none were living who could personally have known him. There was a portrait of him in the possession of Colonel Gordon, at the Cape, which I have seen. There is in each horde a chief or leader; but this office is elective, not hereditary, and is always bestowed upon the most worthy and most brave. That circumcision is in use amongst them, is equally a mistake. So far, I have only endeavoured to correct what I have found erroneous in M. Vaillant's account of this nation; I shall hereafter enter more at large into the subject of their customs, manners, and national policy.

The kraal, of which I was so long an inhabitant, consisted of one hundred and twenty-seven huts; its population about one thousand four hundred souls; of

of these, three hundred and nineteen were fighting men! During my stay I often amused myself in carrying wood into the huts, and was rewarded with milk by the women. To the mistress of each family is left the management of all domestic concerns, such as the providing wood, the care of the children, and looking after the cattle; the men paying very little attention to any of these occupations. In case the wife is taken ill, so as not to be able to fulfil these duties, some one of her female relations must supply her place; and if she dies, the care of the family and all household affairs devolves upon this substitute, till the widower have chosen another wife; when she is paid for this trouble by inheriting all the cattle of the deceased: if there are any children, the relations of the late wife take the girls, and the boys stay with the father.

Whilst I continued a resident amongst them, I made it my business to learn some further particulars of the French ship which had been wrecked, and was informed that it was still lying on the coast, at the distance of about two days journey from the kraal. On hearing this, I formed the resolution of visiting it, and asked one of the Caffres, who was my most constant companion, to accompany me. He made no objection to this proposal, except by representing to me that if we should be obliged to take an eastern direction to reach the ship, we should find it a difficult matter to attain our purpose without running the risque of being attacked and massacred by the Muhotians, a fierce horde of the neighbouring country, who committed daily depredations: he added besides, that even should the vessel lie in the most convenient situation, we could make no use of her, and therefore should be no gainers by the enterprize. This did not deter me: and I strove to reconcile him to the project by saying, that he at least might benefit by it, as there was probably a good deal of iron about her, which we should break off, and he might convert it to his own use. Thus induced, he no longer attempted to dissuade me, and even exerted himself to prevail upon others of his countrymen

men to accompany us. He mentioned the scheme to the mampa, who highly approved of it, and gave every encouragement to its execution, so that in a short time we had twenty seven adventurers ready to set out on the expedition: these were armed with javelins, I with my carabine; and we carried with us besides some iron crows, pincers, and hammers.

All preparations thus made, on the 25th of April we set forward, and crossed a chain of mountains in the line which it was supposed would lead us to where the ship lay. As we made but few halts, we that same evening reached the mountain which was the nearest to the sea-coast, and lighting a fire, we lay down around it. In the course of the night, on looking towards the foot of the mountain, at some distance we perceived another fire: this seemed to alarm my companions, who I thought, from their tones and gestures, concluded we were in the neighbourhood of robbers: I, on the contrary, believed it very probable that these might be some of the Europeans from on board the vessel, and endeavoured to revive the courage of my fellow-travellers by suggesting this idea. Very early in the morning we were again in motion, and bent our course towards the fire; as we approached it, our party were overjoyed to discover that this dreaded band were not robbers, but Caffres. On joining them, we found that they had come on the same errand with ourselves, and had already been at the ship, from whence they had brought a large quantity of iron, some glass, several boxes, copper-vessels, and other articles; they pointed out to us where she lay, and gave us a pressing invitation to spend a night at their kraal as we returned home.

My companions now resumed all their courage, and were in such high spirits that I could scarcely keep pace with them as we advanced nearer to our destined prize. We crossed a river during the course of the day, and in the evening reached the object of our search. The wreck was a brig, and lay between the
great

great Fish-river and that of St. Lucia, in a creek which ran in behind the mountain. On board we found several dead bodies pierced with innumerable wounds, and in a state of putrefaction; on searching we also discovered divers articles, as, casks, kitchen furniture, some shirts, with various pieces of cotton and silk manufactures; but these last, from being steeped in the sea-water, and exposed to the sun by turns, were become unfit for any use. The Caffres, to whom iron seemed the most precious of all commodities, busied themselves, and exerted all their strength in wrenching off the cramps and iron bars by which the wood was fastened, and in extracting the nails. Whilst they were thus employed, I lighted a fire, and prepared our supper of some flesh meat which we had brought with us. I had carried on shore some fragments of the ship to burn for dressing it, and when all was ready I summoned my companions, to whom I shewed with how little labour I had procured a great quantity of their favourite metal, for as the planks and beams, which I had put on the fire, consumed, all the iron part of the work had fallen to the bottom freed from the wood. Charmed with this expeditious and easy process, they ran back to the vessel, from whence they dragged those huge double beams, which are generally fastened together by strong iron bars, and piling them on the fire, left them to burn all night; in the morning, the whole mass thus obtained, was taken up, and amounted to a considerable quantity. In a search we made along the beach this day, we discovered a cask buried in the sand, which the waves had thrown over it; on opening it, we found it contained seventy muskets, which being very much spoiled with rust, we laid them on the fire to burn away the wood whilst we preserved the iron. A little further on we dug up some swords, such as are used by privates, with the French arms engraven upon them. By noon we had made every arrangement for our departure; but as several of our party complained much of fatigue, it was decided that we should rest for that night, and proceed on our return the next day.

In the mean time, those who chose it, roamed along the beach, and picked up numbers of little articles, which however were useful. In my rambles with a few of the others, I saw a human body lying at a little distance; on coming up to it, although in a putrid state, we discovered it to be that of a young man, and he seemed to have been a person of distinction, from his clothes and an ensign of some order with which he was decorated, probably a cross of St. Louis. He had received two wounds in the breast, and his right hand was cut off; on perceiving this, my companions seemed deeply affected; and on my expressing a wish to inter the body, each was eager to offer his assistance: accordingly, a deep pit was dug close to a wood near the shore, and having deposited him in it, these humane Caffres went in search of four more bodies which they had seen lying exposed, and with emotions of the tenderest pity laid them in the same grave, covering it afterwards with a mound of earth. This ceremony over, my companions repaired to the sea-side, and rubbing themselves over with ashes, washed them off in the waves, and this ablution they performed at least twenty times successively: for that whole day they abstained from all manner of food; whether this was from the disgust inspired by touching the dead bodies, or from motives of religion, I could not exactly ascertain. In the evening, after having lighted a fire, a new ceremony was performed, each man rolling himself in the sand till covered up to the neck by it; we then all ranged ourselves round the fire, and went to sleep.

Early on the following morning we set forward, each man loaded with his appointed burthen. As we walked, we held a consultation whether we should turn out of our way to visit the horde, by whom we had been invited to spend the night on our return, or proceed directly home: the majority were for calling at the kraal, and accordingly thither we bent our steps. We found the road very bad, and the heat was intense, yet, in spite of all difficulties, we reached our place of destination

tinuation in good time, and met with a most cordial reception. Our hosts shewed us large stores of the ship's cargo which they had obtained, consisting of clothes, several pairs of shoes, whole pieces of silk and cotton manufactures, a great many muskets and swords quite new, two large copper kettles, saucepans, bottles; with money to a considerable amount. Of these treasures they generously presented us with several articles; amongst the rest, one of the large kettles; this was obliged to be carried by four men, who, in climbing the mountains over which we passed, found it so unwieldy and cumbersome, that they were often on the point of leaving it by the way.

We were here informed that the crew of the stranded ship had spent a good deal of time amongst them before they set out for the kingdom of Monomotapa, whither they had gone to implore assistance of the Portuguese settled there. I had received, amongst other presents, a compass free from any kind of damage; this was to me a most precious treasure.

On the following day we arrived at our own kraal; on our approach, the women and children, connected with my fellow-adventurers, came out to meet us; on perceiving the booty with which we were loaded, exclamations of rapture and shouts of joy saluted us; had we conquered a mighty kingdom, we could not have been received with more triumphant enthusiasm: on entering the kraal, we met with similar testimonies of approbation from all the inhabitants.

The success of this enterprize gave me a very high degree of estimation in the eyes of all the horde: each man seemed to look up to me; married women and maidens vied with each other in supplying me with the choicest of their milk; and nothing that my friends possessed was withheld from me. They even appointed me under-mampa, with a view of inducing me to take up my residence amongst them; and further engaged to build a hut, and furnish it for me with every thing I could want. I was grateful for all their kind offers, which, however, I was obliged to refuse; but I did it

in such a manner as not to offend; promising to return after having made the tour of the adjoining country, and that then I should take a wife and devote the residue of my days to them. I also found other means of gaining on their affections by being further useful to them; as in the following instance. A fat young buffalo being killed in the hut where I was a guest, I received the blood, which they had on former occasions been accustomed to throw away, into a clean vessel; the entrails too they used to have immediately buried, lest the smell should attract the wild beasts; these I had carefully preserved and cleansed; and chopping some of the meat, made it, with the blood, into a kind of puddings, which I boiled in the kettle we had brought home. My hosts admired my cookery very much, and thanked me in the warmest terms for instructing them in the method of making this new dainty, which, they said, they should certainly practise for the future.

CHAP. IV.

The author takes his leave of the friendly Caffres, and pursues his journey.—Encounters many dangers and difficulties, which he describes.—Arrives amongst another horde of Caffres, and is kindly received.—Assists them against the Tamboukins.—Real boundaries of Caffraria, and some of the neighbouring nations.—The author is robbed of his property in another Caffre kraal.—By the intervention of the chief it is all restored except the carabine, which had been broken to pieces by one of the Caffres.—Description of a Yamatian kraal, with an account of the customs and manners of the Yamatians.

I LEFT these worthy and friendly people on the 20th of May, not without many marks of kindness which they shewed me to the last; I was provided with roasted meat for my journey, and with calabashes full of milk; and repeatedly reminded of my promise to return: many of them accompanied me a league on my way to the foot of the nearest mountain. From hence I directed my course north-east, over rocky ground, which led me to an arm of the great Fish-river. Here I stopped to repose myself for some time, and then resumed my journey; sometimes clambering over mountains, at others pursuing my path through the intervening vallies.

On the following morning I entered a charming plain covered with verdure, and adorned with a variety of beautiful trees; amongst these were many which bore the yellow fruit like plums, which I have already described. In the course of this day I at length reached a kraal, and here I passed the night. On my entrance, they took possession of my carabine,

bine*, and then gave me some meat and milk. The following morning I departed, and was accompanied a league across the plain to the foot of a small hill by a crowd of children, who, I thought, followed me from curiosity, but I found it was rather to watch me, as I was to pass through some of their fields of grain; for, on my attempting to pluck a head of Indian corn, they called out, *gonurum daropisy camd cruyulsay*, do not touch it, or my father will shoot you.

I passed over a mountain called by the natives Psaadoh, or Salt-mountain; here I saw both common salt and salt-petre in large quantities; at its foot runs a small river, which, in its course along the plain, branches into two distinct streams: possibly from one of these the horde which I last quitted get their water, which I observed tasted rather brackish; but whether the water is of this quality from its original source, or receives the particles of salt as it flows over the rocks near this mountain, I could not ascertain.

A thick wood now arose before me; in vain I attempted to force my passage through it; I was at length obliged to desist, and make my way round it: this took me up half the day. In the neighbourhood of this wood I saw a number of elephants, about forty as nearly as I could guess, which rather startled me, as they were scattered over the road through which my path lay; they did not however molest me. I passed this night on the confines of the wood, kindling a large fire, which however did not deter the wolves and lions from approaching very near; they disturbed me much, but did not dare to attack me.

The wood, beneath whose shade I now was, appeared to me to be about seven or eight German miles † in extent; the cacolay and monopacha-trees were its only growth.

* This was done merely to prevent mischief, lest the carbine, being unskillfully handled by those who were not used to fire-arms, any accident might happen, or perhaps to deprive me of the power of hurting them.

† From about twenty-one to twenty-eight English miles.

growth. The fruit produced by the former is something like our wild chefnuts, but has a red kernel of an acid taste; that of the monopacha-tree is called kernüpfel, and is a species of the core apple; the seeds about the size of those of a lupine, and sweet in flavour. It was a late hour before the wild beasts betook themselves again to their haunts in the wood; and, as I did not think it quite prudent to pass through their ranks, I was obliged to keep my station at the fire a considerable time longer than I wished.

As noon approached, a violent storm howled around me, which I welcomed with joy, as a means of rendering the air more temperate, which I had found intensely hot. I proceeded however but slowly, not more than two German miles that day, being often impeded in my course by pools of stagnant water, which obliged me to take a circuitous path, not choosing to wade through them; the wild beasts too came thither to quench their thirst, which made the fording of them as dangerous as unpleasant. I was also compelled to keep a strict watch during the course of the following night to repel the attacks of those invaders, not daring to enter the wood in search of materials to light a fire: not being able to sleep, I spent my hours in walking about in different directions; eating at times some morsels of my cold meat, which was now, however, far from being perfectly sweet.

When day began to dawn, I again set forward, ascending a craggy mountain which stretched in a direction from east to west. In this day's journey I passed over barren steeps and plains, where neither tree nor shrub were to be seen, devoid of all verdure, and covered only with high rushes blackened by the scorching sun: every part was infested by wild beasts; but I was refreshed by the rain-water which I found in the hollows of some of the rocks. On the evening of the following day, I shot at a roebuck which I saw at some distance, but I only wounded him, and he escaped from my pursuit. A small wood was now within my view, near which I proposed passing the night; but it

was too remote for me to reach it; I therefore sat down on a rising ground, and began to reflect on what was best for me to do, whether to turn aside and bend my course in some other direction, or pursue the line in which I now was; the calls of hunger, which I now found very imperious, without any means of satisfying them, filled me with dejection. From this contemplation, I was now aroused by the sound of voices, and, on looking round, beheld a number of men armed with clubs and javelins advancing towards the place where I sat.

Had my appetite for food been less keenly craving, I should perhaps have endeavoured to fly, but I now, on the contrary, awaited their approach with pleasure. When come within about ten paces of me they halted, when one of them addressing me in the Caffrarian language, demanded what I did there; I answered, that I was nearly expiring with hunger. "Have you nothing to eat?" cried another voice; "No," replied I, "do give me some food." "Who are you?" asked they; "A stranger from the westward," said I, "who have been wrecked on your coast." "Whither would you go now?" resumed one of them; "to my native country," I answered. They put some other questions to me, particularly whether I had come hither alone. I answered as well as I could by signs, and a few unconnected words that I had, and then reiterated my supplications for something to eat. They now, by gestures, desired I should go with them; I assured them I was so weak as to be unable to walk. Upon this a consultation was held, the substance of which I understood, and it was to this effect: one said I must be compelled to accompany them; a second advised they should kill me with a javelin; but a third, more humane, opposed this cruel proposal. I now felt truly alarmed, not knowing how this would end. At length one of them seizing hold of my arm, intimated to me by signs that they insisted on my going. I complied, therefore, without further opposition, and they led the way into a little wood, where they stopped
and

and kindled a fire. They then gave me a piece of raw flesh, which I put on the coals to broil, and one of them gave me his water-bottle, out of which I drank. After this meal I laid myself down to sleep, putting my knapsack under my head: on seeing this they took it from me, curious to see what it contained; they emptied it, and found the remains of my powder and ball, a knife, a pair of scissars, and two shirts. They kept the knife and scissars, but restored me the remainder of my small property; fortunately, I had some time before taken the precaution of sewing my money into my waistcoat, which was now the means of my preserving it.

I now sunk into a profound sleep, from which I did not awake till roused to attend my conductors, which, however, was at a very early hour in the morning. They directed their course to the north-east, and proceeded with such rapidity, that I was not able to keep up with them: on perceiving that I lagged behind, one of them held up his club, threatening to chastise me, and in the evening another actually gave me several blows over the shoulders, and menaced me with still heavier marks of his displeasure if I did not exert myself and quicken my pace. I felt severely hurt by the strokes, and the blood began to flow in streams from my feet, which were shod only with what are called field shoes *, and we were obliged to clamber over sharp pointed rocks, and force our way through brambles and underwood. Night overtook us before we reached the kraal; on our arrival I was conducted to a hut, where I had some milk given me, with cakes made of Indian corn.

From all I had met with, I could not yet form a judgment whether I had fallen into the hands of robbers, or amongst a tribe of Caffres; I was inclined to the former opinion, as I had never before experienced
any

* The *field-shoes* were made of buffalo-skin, and fastened round the feet.

any harsh treatment from any of the Caffre hordes : besides this, I recollected having been warned at different kraals where I had been, to beware of encountering the Muhotian plunderers. I concluded I was now in their power, and of course dreaded the worst that could befall me. Although much fatigued, the agitation of my mind kept me waking the whole of the night, and the slightest movement in the hut made me start, as if it were the signal of my approaching murder.

When day began to break, the idea of attempting to make my escape darted into my mind, as my gaolers were yet buried in sleep, and all was silence on the outside of the hut. A little reflection, however, determined me rather to remain and wait with patience whatever might happen ; as were I to be detected in my flight, I should infallibly be pursued and brought back ; and besides this my knapsack and carabine had been left in another hut. Again then I stretched myself on my mat, and sleep at length visited me. I know not how long I should have slept, had I not been awoken by a girl who brought me some cakes and milk. As none but she and myself were now in the hut, I took the opportunity of asking her some questions, and the following conversation passed between us. "Are you a Caffre?"—"Yes."—"Where are those who slept in this hut gone?"—"I do not know."—"When will they return?"—"I cannot tell."—"I will also go, bring me my gun and parcel."—"You must not go; my father has carried your gun to another hut."—"Wherefore should I remain here?"—"Because you are so beautifully white."—"Will your father kill me and eat my flesh?"—"We have buffaloes for food; I know not whether your flesh would be good to eat." Our dialogue ended here; she left me, and I heard her fasten the door on the outside.

Still I remained in doubt as to the fate which here awaited me; death I believed was impending over me, and I concluded I should either be privately murdered, or kept to grace some public festivity with my execution.

execution. In the midst of these perplexing cogitations, I again sunk into a profound sleep. Whilst I thus forgot all my cares, my hosts of the hut returned, and having learned from the girl the conversation which had passed between us, one of them laid hold of my feet and shook me heartily. But half-awoke from a dream, in which I had beheld myself surrounded by my enemies prepared for slaughter, I involuntarily screamed aloud. Perceiving my terrors, all present burst out a laughing; and one of the men assuming a severity of aspect advanced, and ordered me to rise quickly, pull off my clothes, and prepare for that death which he was about to give me. I raised myself slowly up to take a view of him who thus threatened me; but instead of ferocity he approached me with complacency; presenting me with a piece of roasted flesh; whilst the girl brought me some milk. He then comforted me with the assurance, that my life should be in safety amongst them, as they were not a nation of murderers nor devourers of human flesh.

A smoke which filled the hut becoming troublesome, we went out and ranged ourselves on a green space in front of it. When all seated, they expressed a wish to hear an account of all I had met with in my travels hither. I complied, making out by signs what I had not words of their language to explain. The man who had repeatedly struck me on the road the preceding day, was now most attentively kind to me. "You had better stay here with us," said he, addressing himself to me; "we are Caffres, who protect the stranger, and slay only our enemies: you will have nothing to dread amongst us; on the contrary, we will take care of you, and provide you with every thing necessary for your maintenance. Do not leave us, for should you fall into the hands of the fierce Muhotian robbers, they will undoubtedly murder you. If you will not consent to reside always with us, tarry at least till *gokah mahkay* (a full moon) is over; these plunderers will then have retired from that part of the country through which you must pass," Convinced now how much I had

mistaken the characters of this people, all my fears vanished, and I accepted with pleasure their friendly offers.

I now applied myself to such occupations as I thought might be useful to my kind protectors. I carried wood for the supply of the hut where I was a guest; when my hosts hunted I accompanied them; and at intervals of leisure I amused myself with cutting little wooden toys, which were accepted with much pleasure. Twelve men were appointed every four days to scour the country for some leagues round the kraal, and watch lest some of the robbers should be lurking near, with a view of committing depredations on their herds. If none of these spoilers were to be met with, they turned their arms against the wild beasts of their forests, that they might not return home without some kind of prey. I had recommended myself to the favour of the mampa, who had returned me my carabine, and sometimes employed me to join these scouting parties. On one of these occasions I had the good fortune to render my kind friends a real service. Having directed our course to the south-east, where most of the pastures in which their cattle grazed were situated, we passed through a wood about a mile in extent; on issuing from its further extremity, we saw a number of men advancing towards us. My companions perceived at once that these were Tambouki robbers, by whom we should in all probability be attacked; they therefore prepared to defend themselves, and entreated me to join, vigorously in their endeavours to repel these savage foes. Having added eight flugs to the charge I already had in my carabine, as soon as they were come within reach of my fire, I discharged it amongst them: upon this they made a halt, during which I reloaded my piece, and again fired it at them: they now all took to flight with the utmost precipitation, except two of the party that I had wounded, whom their companions were obliged to leave behind. These we carried home with us, and they were not treated with inhumanity, although they had been the most rancorous enemies.

to the Caffres: their wounds were taken care of; and when healed, the men were employed in carrying wood and water.

The event of this expedition obtained me a high degree of credit and estimation; and my hospitable friends laid themselves out to render the remainder of my stay amongst them as agreeable as possible. The number of the inhabitants in this horde was four hundred and ninety-three; of these, one hundred and sixty were men able to bear arms: it is the last kraal in Caffraria-proper, situated to the north-east, and is about one days journey from the frontier which divides this country from that of the Yamatians. The people of Yamatia give themselves also the denomination of Caffres, but they are in reality a distinct race, and differ from the Caffres, properly so called, in many points.

I shall now, as I some time since promised, enter into a more minute discussion relative to the customs, manners, and policy of the real Caffres. In the maps of Africa, all that tract of country which is in general distinguished by the name of Caffraria, ought to be divided into five parts, following the division of the five nations by which it is inhabited. It is true the hordes belonging to each of these nations usually change their place of abode annually, yet still they keep within their own boundaries. Those to the south, or the real Caffres, inhabit that tract of land which extends from Bruyn-oogte to the Tambo-river, about one hundred and forty miles in length, and upwards of sixty in breadth; that is, from the sea to the kingdom of Biri. We must not, however, be surprised that geographers and travellers often give contradictory accounts of the real extent of Caffraria: the latter may be misled in this point from the circumstance of many other nations assuming the name of Caffres, or wishing to pass as such, without any title to the denomination. In a district upwards of two hundred miles in length, stretching from north to south, and reaching from the Tambo to the Francis-

river, and from eighty-six to one hundred miles in breadth, dwell the following nations.—1. The Yamatians, bounded on the south-east by the southern Caffres, or Caffraria-proper. 2. The Muhotians, bordering to the south on Caffraria-proper, to the east on the territory of the Yamatians. 3. The Kamtorians, whose country forms a triangle: to the south it touches on that of the Muhotians, and westward on the kingdom of Biri. 4. The Birians, inhabitants of the kingdom of Biri, who are subdivided into three tribes, viz. The Birians, properly so called; the Gohavans, originally people of a more southern country, who migrated thither, and the Tamboukes. 5. The Kaminrukis*: these are a patient race, whom the neighbouring nations delight in oppressing. 6. The Monikans, inhabitants of the kingdom of Monika, a powerful and numerous nation: their southern borders divide them from the kingdom of Biri, and to the east lie some regions yet unexplored. 7. The Yamampau, who subsist by plunder: on this account they were expelled the country of Monomotapa: their name Yamampau signifies robber. 8. The Inhambans, inhabitants of a small kingdom, lying along a river of the same name: these have admitted to reside amongst them the Huiyamins, a people who formerly possessed a fertile tract of country on the banks of the Aroe, but were driven from thence by the Batanzons. 9. The people of the kingdom of Sabla. 10. Those of the kingdom of Sofala. 11. The Inhamois. 12. The Inhamasibas: These four last mentioned have entered into a league, offensive and defensive, against their common enemy, the king of Monomotapa, with whom they are in continual

* I could not help being much surprized to find the country of the Kaminrukis, mentioned by M. Vaillant, as having been visited by him; as it is situated about two hundred miles from the route he tells us he pursued. Even admitting he might have left his caravan to make an excursion further on, still it is hardly possible, during that time, he could have penetrated such a length of way. This nation is not numerous; it comprizes only about three thousand souls. They are held in detestation by the south Caffres, who are ever in hostility with them.

tinual warfare, he endeavouring to bring them again under his yoke. 13. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Chikaro. There are four distinct nations, who reside within the confines of this kingdom, each of whom was formerly governed by its own king, viz. the Makubis, a warlike race; the Kainugnos, who subsist by breeding cattle; the Mainapis, originally inhabitants of the kingdom of Butna, where, on being required to pay a tribute, they raised an insurrection against their king, whom they attempted to murder, and were in consequence expelled from his dominions; and lastly, the Monglans, a people at once mild and courageous; on occasion of their king having sold a number of his subjects to the French as slaves, they rose against him, and he lost his life in the contest.

Interspersed amongst the nations above enumerated are many smaller tribes, who, in their internal police, and some of their usages, vary from them in a slight degree; but in matters of material import, they must conform to the laws and customs of the more powerful nations in whose territory they chance to reside.—Many writers have comprehended all the inhabitants of the different countries I have been describing, under the general name of Caffres, and some have even included those of Monomotapa, as so called; thus extending the limits of Caffraria as far as the river Chireyra. Others again have formed different divisions, and fixed different boundaries from those I have here given; but in all the countries through which I travelled, those whom I have specified as Caffres, are looked upon as all that can come under that denomination, even in its most extended sense.

Caffraria is upon the whole a fertile country, though in many places there are mountainous regions and extensive morasses: had it the advantage of cultivation, the soil would I am sure be equally productive with the most fruitful parts of Europe: were those tracts to be reclaimed where nothing now is to be seen but swamps and rushes, they might yield abundance of the finest wheat. Nor is it wanting in mineral productions;

tions; but the natives being equally ignorant of the art of working their mines as with that of husbandry, no benefit is derived from them. Both wild and domestic animals abound through all its extent, as do herbs, plants, and fruits, to which other countries are strangers.

Having thus described the country commonly called Caffraria, as inhabited by several distinct nations, I shall next proceed to give an account of the mode of life, manners, and national character of that tribe of south Caffres of which I acquired so accurate a knowledge, and from whom the whole country derives its name. The natives of Caffraria then acknowledge one Supreme Being; the sun and moon are also objects of their worship; but they have neither priests nor temples. No modes of faith are prescribed, each paying his homage in that manner which best suits his own ideas. In every family the task of instructing the children is undertaken by the oldest person; the grandfather, for instance, if living, has the care of the boys, the grandmother of the girls. The clothing worn by the Caffres is much the same as that of the Hottentots; it consists of a kind of apron fastened round the waist, and a sheep-skin in form of a cloak thrown over their shoulders. The long hair of the women is plaited, bound round the head, and formed into a tuft at the top; that of the men, braided in tresses, hangs down over the shoulders. There is a chief in each kraal whom they stile mampa; by his decision all petty differences are adjusted: matters of real moment are judged by the whole kraal collectively. In cases of adultery, if the transgression is on the woman's side, the severest punishment is decreed; if on the man's, it is comparatively slight: a plurality of wives is also permitted them.

In war the Caffres display much bravery, sacrificing their lives rather than incur the shame of a retreat: if they are conquered, it must be by superior skill or numbers. They delight in war; and are generally
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the first to begin hostilities in order to provoke their neighbours: their only weapons are javelins and clubs. When so much oppressed by the Dutch planters in the year 1709, this nation alone sent an army of forty thousand men into the field to oppose them; had they been joined in time by the auxiliary troops from all the other states situated between the frontiers of the Dutch settlements and the kingdom of Biri, a force of near ninety thousand men might have been assembled before Cape-town, which must infallibly have surrendered to them. That each of the dispersed hordes may have the earliest intelligence in case of a war breaking out, that nearest the confines of the enemy's country gives the signal, by erecting, on some rising ground, the trunk of a particular kind of tree,* stripped of its branches and covered all over with tallow; this they set on fire, and on seeing the light, which is distinguishable at an immense distance, the warriors of each horde are instantly in motion to hasten to the assistance of their countrymen.

The most favourite amusements of the Caffres are singing and dancing; of all kinds of jollity, indeed, they are peculiarly fond, for which reason their festivals are very frequent; especially on nights when the sky is unclouded, and the moon shines bright. They are fearful of offending their divine luminary, the sun, should they begin their festivities before he has withdrawn his beams. A victory over their enemies, the destruction of a savage and ferocious beast, or the election of a mampa, are always celebrated with sports and rejoicings.

On any of these great occasions, the mampa, to give public notice of the approaching jubilee, fixes some palm-branches on the top of his hut. The youths, not yet able to bear arms, are totally excluded.

* On this tree grows a fruit something like our gooseberries; it also produces a species of wax of a greenish colour, which the Dutch planters prize highly for the purpose of making candles.

cluded from assisting at many of these celebrations; nor are children admitted to see their parents dance. Their time is divided by moons and years; ten-lunar months are reckoned a year; hence there is a great variation in their seasons.

Although the women are not highly respected amongst them, and rather looked upon in the light of slaves, yet custom and the laws of the country give them certain rights and privileges which are never infringed. When a woman lies-in, for the three first days after her delivery, her husband must not enter the hut where she is confined. If the child be a son, a feast is given by the father; if a daughter, by the mother, to the nearest relatives of the family on both sides. Particular huts are appropriated to the purpose of women being brought to bed in them in every kraal; sometimes each family possesses one: no man is permitted to enter these. Their laws allow of divorces in some cases; but it is chiefly the men who have the power of suing for them, for he can compel his wife to live with him as long as he chooses; if she insists upon a separation so as to make him uneasy, it is then granted; but she is banished from the kraal. The men are prohibited by the laws from inflicting any manual chastisement on their wives. This is a security which is not enjoyed in the more polished nations of Europe, who, however, look down with contempt on these children of nature: a Caffre who should beat his wife, would be looked upon with contempt and abhorrence by the entire kraal, of which he would be ever after considered an unworthy member. I never, during my residence amongst this people, saw an instance of a man having any difference with his wife, or even speaking to her in the language of reprehension: all those duties, which the tie of marriage enjoins them in domestic life, are performed to the best of their abilities with regularity and exactness. If the husband happens to be taken ill, the management of his affairs is undertaken by some one near of kin to him; in like manner, if a woman is sick,

sick, one of her female relations takes the charge of her household business. Having thus delineated the most striking features in the characters and laws of this nation, I will resume the narrative of my travels.

Having prolonged my stay with this horde to the space of six week, during this time I collected much useful information as to my future route; particularly in what direction I might pursue it with the greatest safety. On the 11th of July I took leave of the kraal, bending my course eastward, although in opposition to the advice of my friends the Caffres; to reach Egypt was the object of my wishes, and that line I hoped would lead me thither. The road over which I travelled this first day was tolerably good; but no kraal lay in my way, nor did I meet a single human being. In the evening I came to a chain of mountains covered with wood, one of which I ascended, and determined to rest there for the night. The country round abounded with chamois-goats; large flocks of them came quite close to me, attracted by the fire at which I lay: one of these I was so lucky as to kill with the butt-end of my gun, and I made a good meal on its flesh. I found no scarcity of water in crossing the vallies, being frequently obliged to wade through streams which reached as high as my knees.

I had passed over all this ridge of mountains by noon the next day, when I entered upon a beautiful plain, which extended about two German miles before me; a stream seven feet broad wound its course through it; the water, though rather brackish, was not unpleasant to drink: the heat being very intense, I rested some hours on its banks, and refreshed myself by bathing. I reached the further end of the plain towards evening, and at a little distance before me discovered some huts; but as I saw it would not be possible for me to reach them whilst the light continued, I determined to pass the night where I then was; I accordingly stretched myself on the grass, with my bundle for a pillow.

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I had lain thus for about an hour, when I felt myself suddenly seized by the feet: my carabine was placed between my legs, and I held the strap in my hand to prevent its being taken without my knowledge; I therefore instantly caught it up, and fired as I lay. I then started on my feet, and beheld four men, who, alarmed by the report, had retreated to some distance. They did not again venture to approach me, which perceiving, I addressed them in the Caffrarian language, calling out, "What would you have with me?—What brings you into our country?" returned one of them, "and whence do you come?" To this I replied by another question: "Are you Caffres?" "Yes," answered they; "If you are kindly disposed then," resumed I, "as your countrymen have represented you to be, may I have a night's lodging in your kraal, and then have liberty to proceed on my journey?" "We must know who you are before we promise," said they, and were turning from me: "I am from a country to the westward," cried I, and am travelling to my native land." "Well, follow us," returned they; "but you must first give us the *yakayudma*," (instrument of death). I then yielded up my carabine, and went along with them.

They conducted me to the door of a hut, within which lay an old man who appeared to be sick: this, I concluded, was their chief. Having first spoken to him, they pointed out to me a buffalo's skin which was deposited near the hut; on this I lay down, and fell into a train of reflections of a rather painful nature: the contents of my knapsack, I feared, might tempt them to murder me, that they might possess them without opposition. Notwithstanding this gloomy prospect, however, sleep at length overcame me, and my repose continued uninterrupted till morning.

Shortly after I awoke an old woman appeared, bringing some milk and millet to the sick man. I spoke to her in the Caffrarian language; she looked at me earnestly, but made me no reply, and went her way.

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In about the space of an hour after, one of the men who had brought me thither the evening before, entered. I besought him to let me have a little milk; he said, I must have patience, and after having conversed some time with the old man, he also left us. I then addressed myself to the sick chief, repeating my request; but to all I said, he only replied, by shaking his head. I now determined to stay no longer in this hut, and taking up my bundle, I went to that next it: A man stood before the door of this, to whom I applied, begging with earnestness for something to eat, and above all for a little milk; he told me his wife would give it me; of her I next went in search, but could not find her. Having now no farther hopes of success in obtaining food, I took up my station opposite to the door of the sick man's hut, to await the return of the man who had taken my carabine from me. I enquired after him of every one who passed, but, received no answer from any. By this time a crowd had collected around me, some of whom seized hold of my bundle, which they wrested from me. I expostulated in the strongest terms, but all in vain: finding force therefore necessary, I sprang towards the man who held it, and twisted my hand in his hair. Soon, however, I was obliged to relinquish my hold, for I was assailed on all sides: again I had recourse to vociferation and complaint, but this had no effect but that of exciting laughter amongst the spectators. I now apprehended my life to be in danger, and each moment expected the stroke by which it was to be terminated, when a man darted forward, who was armed with a club; with this he dealt about his blows in the most violent manner on my antagonists and myself, without any distinction: at length he flung me with such force into the hut, before which the combat had taken place, that I was stunned, and for a short time deprived of my senses. On recovering, all my alarm returned; no food was offered me, and I believed I was doomed to be murdered. The sick man seemed very angry, and talked a vast deal in a language

guage which I did not understand. At length the old woman, whom I had before seen, brought some milk and Indian corn; these she set down, and then left the hut. I knew not for whom this fare was intended, but immediately seized and devoured it with eagerness.

About noon, three of the four men who had been my conductors to the kraal, entered the hut: amongst these was he to whom I had surrendered my carabine. I requested of him to return it me, that I might set out on my journey; I also related the manner in which I had been robbed of my bundle. He made me no answer, but instantly went out: in a short time he returned, accompanied by the man who had handled me so roughly, and by whom I had been thrown into the hut. A long conversation now ensued between them, of which I understood not a word, being in a dialect to which I was a stranger: when it was concluded, they told me in the Caffrarian language, that I should soon have all my property restored to me. I was then informed by some of those present, that the person by whom I, as well as my assailants, had been so soundly beaten, was the *cayata*, (deputy chief), they added, that it was to him I owed the preservation of my life; for, that seeing the danger I was in, he had hastened to my rescue by settling the dispute in the only way it could have been done. They further assured me that there had been no intention of really depriving me of my bundle; those who took it from me being only actuated by curiosity to see what it contained.

My deliverer now gave me a pressing invitation to remain with them, and told me he would go in search of the things which had been taken from me. He accordingly went, and early in the evening returned; and conducted me to his own hut; here, on my complaining of hunger, some broiled meat was given me: my carabine and knapsack were returned me, the latter of which he begged me immediately to examine, to see if any thing was missing; on my doing so, and
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telling him all the articles it contained were safe, he said, "Very well; you are now at liberty to go where you please; but if you will stay here, you are welcome to live in my hut. If you will go, and should direct your course to where the sun rises, you will find in your way five more kraals of our friends, and should they wish to examine your effects, you may safely trust them—they will not rob you of any of them. Whilst you remain here, stay in my hut: when you choose to go I will conduct you on your way."

The evening was spent in festive amusements: a number of men assembled before the door of our hut, and the chief having taken his place in the midst of them, they went into a sort of procession to a field in front of the kraal, where a large fire had been lighted, round which they danced to their own singing. This amusement continued three hours; after which they conducted the chief back to his hut, into which each person stuck a green bough: they all then dispersed. This was a festival which they celebrate at every full of the moon, when unobscured by clouds: It is called *Mikophikon*, or God's Day; but if the face of that orb be overcast, dejection takes place through the whole kraal, believing they have incurred the displeasure of the Deity by some offence. The same superstition prevails amongst them as to the sun, which they also worship. If that luminary rises overspread with clouds, they conclude that the nation, then immediately beneath him, has been guilty of some great offence; and if at noon, when directly over their heads, his beams reach them in unclouded brilliancy, they are happy in the idea that some good actions of theirs have averted his wrath, and a festival takes place. If, on the contrary, he rises in splendour, and becomes darkened when he reaches his meridian, they grieve, and hasten to bring all those to trial who have been guilty of any crimes against the laws: if, whilst the judge is sitting, the sun again shines forth, the sentence he pronounces is believed to be consonant to the strictest rule of justice; but should a storm en-

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sue, which is not unfrequent in that climate, they deem his decisions erroneous, and the pardon of the persons doomed to punishment must be asked.

During the course of the night, I was seized with violent pains in my bowels, and unable to rest, I got up to go out of the hut, but in my passage to the door, to my great dismay, I tumbled over my host, who bellowed out with surprize. Having asked his pardon, and told him the occasion of my thus disturbing him, he was satisfied. He then arose, made a fire, and brought me some dried leaves, which he desired me to chew. After I had done so, he led me out into the air: the medicine then began to operate, it caused a violent vomiting, and the pain subsided.

On the following morning I set forward on my journey, accompanied part of the way by my host, who pointed out the route it was best for me to pursue; he gave me some of the medicinal dried leaves to carry with me, and I afterwards found much benefit from them. My road lay through a wood, and till noon approached, was good and free from impediment. I plucked, on my way, several of the apples and yellow plums I have before mentioned. I now arrived at one of the branches of the river Tumba, or Tambu, called in the language of the country, *mih-kyfa*. Here the fish were in such abundance, that I caught a great number with my hand; and, lighting a fire, I broiled them, and had a very pleasant repast. Looking around me, to the left I perceived some huts; but as at present I was not in want of either meat or drink, I took a different direction from that where they stood, turning somewhat to the north-east.

As evening came on, I saw at a short distance before me about thirty huts: thither I bent my steps, and meeting a young woman, I accosted her in the Caf-frarian language: she made me no answer, so I gave her to understand by signs that I was thirsty, in return to this, she pointed to the river from whence I had come. I then made her another sign, that I should be glad to find a hut where I could sleep; upon which

which she pointed to the ground on which we stood. On her turning to go away, I attempted to accompany her, but she pushed me back. I then waited till she had got some paces on, and followed her. When I had reached the nearest hut, I found about thirty men ranged before it, armed with clubs. I asked them if they meant to kill me; they answered they would if I was a robber; I assured them I was not; and they then approached me, examined my carabine, and taking my knapsack from my back, satisfied their curiosity as to what it contained. One of them now seized my hatchet, another my gun, and they all left me. I picked up the rest of my things which they had scattered about, and going to the next hut, enquired for the cauyatu. Instead of the redress I looked for, I received two violent blows from a young man armed with a club, who darted out upon me, and sent me away. I proceeded to another hut, where I was treated just in the same manner. As night was now fast approaching, I was obliged to go in search of some place to lay my head, and quitting this inhospitable abode, I went and stretched myself on the grass beyond the limits of the kraal. As I found it impossible to sleep, I employed myself in forming schemes for the recovery of my gun and hatchet.

Just as day began to dawn, three men came out of the kraal. Supposing they were in search of me, I arose, and, advancing towards them with the utmost appearance of respect, entreated I might have my gun and hatchet, as I waited only for those to pursue my journey. In return to my request, they demanded whence I came, and whither I was going. To these questions I returned my usual answers, and they then went back to the kraal, whilst I threw myself down again on the grass, in much anxiety for the event.

After waiting for some time, finding they did not return, I summoned courage and went myself into the kraal, in search of the things thus detained from me. At its entrance I met the three men who had been with me; they held up their clubs in a threatening manner
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on seeing me; but, determined not to appear intimidated, I drew my cutlass, and threatened in my turn. I then advanced towards the huts, whilst they retreated before me; calling out, however, *bokatolago kokhmaho* (if you enter our huts we will put you to death); but without minding them, I still advanced with spirit.

On consideration, I thought my most prudent measure would be to apply to the chief, and seeing a hut decorated with green boughs, this I knew must be his residence; I accordingly ran towards it with all my speed, for a number of armed men were now pursuing me, whose assault I thought it rather dangerous to await. Even children were following and hooting me.

On my approach to the hut, the chief sallied out to meet me with a great club in his hand, and came up to me. I implored his protection against his people, who sought my life because I demanded my property, of which I had been robbed by some of them the preceding evening; and likewise begged his assistance in recovering that property. He listened to me with attention, and then led me to a space in front of his hut, where he pointed to me to sit down on the grass. He then asked me the same questions which had been so often before put to me, whence I came, and whither I was going. I answered to what he demanded; and particularly informed him, that I had already passed six months amongst his countrymen, from whom I had everywhere met with the kindest reception; nor had I ever experienced any bad treatment from any of his nation till I arrived at his kraal. "I should not have come higher at all," added I, "had not the chiefs of all the neighbouring hordes assured me that here too I should be protected from insult." This speech produced a favourable effect; "Yes," returned he; "here all you shall be in safety; your effects shall be restored to you: wait my return here, I will myself go and fetch them." He then turned to those present, spoke a few words, and left me.

He soon returned, bringing the hatchet, with the stock

stock and barrel of my carabine; which lost, however, had already been broken to pieces, in order to convert into hassagays. I was very glad to recover my hatchet, but expressed much discontent at finding my gun in such a state, as it could now be of no further use to me from the barrel being broken. On hearing this, he sent for the man who had taken it from me, spoke to him about it, and would have struck him with his club, had I not sprung from the ground where I sat, flung my arms round the neck of the chief, and conjured him not to punish the poor man. This appeased him; he laid down his club, and the culprit was pardoned.

I acted with this degree of duplicity in order to conciliate the kind opinion of the inhabitants, as I was not without my fears that I should have been way-laid by some of them when I set out on my journey. I got some plums and milk, and left this most detestable kraal; the chief accompanying me to point out to me the right road.

Before evening I reached another part of the Tambu: several kraals were now within my view, both to the right and left; yet, though my stock of provisions was not the most plentiful, consisting of but a small quantity of meat, with a few plums, I preferred remaining where I was all night, to running the risk of visiting them. I employed myself here for some time in felling a tree to serve me as a raft for crossing to the opposite side, and then laid myself down to sleep.

In the morning I effected my passage, and then endeavoured to procure some fish from the river; but the water was too deep for me to catch them with my hand, and I had not a line. I picked up a few muscles, which I roasted in the fire, and found very pleasant food. I next came to a plain, which I crossed, rather than a chain of mountains which lay to the eastward; because, scattered over these eminences, were several clusters of huts, which I now wished to avoid. The soil of this plain was in some parts a barren sand, in others overgrown with rushes. In one part my path

lay through a sort of meadow; here I found sunk in a sand-hill an ostrich-nest, in which were seven eggs; of these I possessed myself with no small degree of pleasure: and though I had not this day travelled more than two German miles, I stopped here with a determination to pass the night, that I might feast on some of my eggs; whilst gathering wood to dress them, I also found some fine apples, and thus furnished myself with subsistence for two days to come.

In the course of the night I was much annoyed by wolves, tigers, and elephants; but what alarmed me much more was the cry of a pack of wild dogs, who were in chase of a herd of buffaloes not many paces distant from me. That they might not perceive me, I lay as close to the fire as I could bear the heat; and from time to time stirred it up, that the sparks might spread wide around. I did not venture to sleep during the whole night; however, they did not approach me. I slept a few hours towards morning, and then arose and proceeded on my way.

After about two hours travelling, I came to another arm of the Tumba, and a little to the north-east again saw the river itself. Numbers of huts were scattered over its banks in every direction; these I had no means of avoiding, and therefore pursued the path I was then in, which by five o'clock in the afternoon brought me to the river. It had been swollen and risen to such a height as to overflow its banks, and lay the country to some distance under water. Sudden inundations of this kind are not unusual here, from the heavy falls of rain which commonly accompany thunder-storms: rivers, to all appearance nearly dried up, will sometimes, in the space of a few hours, become so full as not to be restrained within the limits of their banks.

I now came to some of those huts nearest the river's brink, where I found a part of the inhabitants busied in fishing. I asked permission to spend that night in their kraal, upon which they looked at each other without returning me any answer. I then took off my knapsack, which had become rather burdensome to me,

me, and placed it on the ground; after which I offered them my services to assist them in their fishing, to which they did not object. When this employment was over, they all went into their huts except one man, who addressed some words to me in a language which I did not understand: he seemed quite angry at this, and immediately hurried after his companions. I followed, and spoke in the Caffrarian language to several of them, but received no answer. I next tried to make my wants known to them by signs and gestures; this succeeded better, and on asking for some milk, I obtained a pot full: in return for this I offered the man who brought it me, an ostrich-egg, which he at first declined accepting, but on my still holding it out to him, he at length took it.

Leaving the hut, I now went and seated myself on a sand-bank near it; here I was soon surrounded by a crowd of the natives, who, however, did not attempt to molest me. I was vexed that by our not understanding each other I was prevented conversing with them, as in that case they would I am sure have treated me with still greater kindness. I expressed by signs, however, that I should be glad to be allowed to take a little repose on the spot where I then sat, and for this purpose, placing my bundle under my head, I stretched myself on the ground: on seeing this, several girls flew, some for mats to spread under me, whilst others brought me sheep-skins for a covering. Perceiving how very amicably they were disposed towards me, I ventured to seize one of the girls, pulling her down on the mat to me: she screamed at first with alarm; but seeing those around us laughing at her, she became quiet. I soon let her go, however, but the company pushing her back, she returned to her situation beside me, which she did not quit till towards evening, when she ran to join her companions. Having been kept waking for several successive nights past, I soon sunk into a profound sleep, although the calls of hunger were almost equally pressing.

Early on the succeeding morning I was awoke by the same girl, who brought me some milk, with a broiled fish. My breakfast over, she beckoned to me to follow her; I did so without hesitation, and she led the way to a hut where a number of people were assembled: they all immediately gathered round me, and milk, more than I could possibly use, was presented me from all quarters. A young man then addressed me by signs, inviting me to stay with them till the overflowing of the river had subsided; this I promised to do with pleasure and gratitude. The girl who had been so attentive to me, now caught up my bundle and conveyed it to the hut in which she herself resided; seeing there was a fire in it, I followed her, that I might roast one of my ostrich-eggs. Whilst thus employed, her mother came in, and gave me some milk warm from the cows which she had been just milking, and seemed to look on me with much kindness. This woman was a widow, and their laws permit such to entertain strangers. The hospitable reception I met with amongst these people I own was very unexpected, and surprised me much, as they were a branch of the same horde by whom I had been so inhumanly treated.

I fished and hunted with them; assisted in cutting up the carcases of those animals which we killed in the chase; and in many other little offices. I likewise made them fishing-nets of a better construction than those they before used*. By these and similar means I acquired a high degree of favour amongst them. In the mean time I made daily enquiries whether the river could be passed with safety; and was told, that even though it were, the travelling on the opposite side would be extremely hazardous, as the country was inhabited by a fierce and savage people, rendered still more so from the poverty in which they lived, owing to the sterility

* Theirs are made of sheep-skin thongs woven like mats, of an oblong form, being from six to nine feet long by three broad, and very clumsily put together.

sterility of the soil. I could not however avoid them without taking a very circuitous route; and, as the shortest was to me the most desirable, I determined to run the risk: accordingly, after a stay of nine days, with the assistance of my kind friends, I passed the river; after which I directed my course northward, as that I was told would bring me to some hordes of the same nation with that I had just left, from whom most probably I should experience similar good-treatment.

I was accompanied by my friendly girl and three men to the bottom of a mountain at some distance, where they took a most affectionate leave of me. Having ascended this steep, I beheld the sea afar off, with a vast chain of mountains immediately before me, over which were scattered in different situations a number of huts. On descending into a narrow valley, six huts presented themselves to my view on the right, of a more lofty kind than usual; towards these I bent my steps. On reaching the first, and looking around me, I could not perceive a human inhabitant. I called aloud, and received some answer, but it was totally unintelligible to me. I summoned resolution at length to search into this mysterious singularity, and going to the door of the hut, I heard a man's voice utter some inarticulate words mingled with groans. I asked who was there, and again all was silence; but as I turned to go away, a man came crawling towards me on his hands and feet, but his form and aspect so hideous as inspired me with affright: he was covered over with the small-pox, of a kind much more malignant than I had ever seen in Europe*; and the red and white spots caused by the pustules formed a most extraordinary contrast with the blackness of his skin. Pity soon took place of the disgust with which I had been struck on his first appearance; I gave the miserable being an ostrich egg, and then left him, and went to seek more healthy habitations. These six detached huts

* Most probably this was some eruptive disorder peculiar to that part of Africa, and not the real European small-pox.

huts are appropriated solely to the use of the sick; but merely through fear of infection in this disorder, those in health will not pay them the necessary attendance; the small-pox is held in such dread and abhorrence by this people, that whoever has the misfortune to be attacked by it, is sent away from the kraal, and obliged to live in these remote huts, unvisited and unnoticed. Should they not before hand have laid in a sufficient stock of provisions for support during this banishment, and are too weak to go in quest of food, they are left to perish in misery. I made the best of my way from this scene of disease and death, lest I should be seen come from thence by a kraal at some distance whither I meant to go, and should most probably have been refused admittance, or otherwise ill-treated, only because I had visited the abode of the sick.

As I approached the kraal, in which were about seventy huts, such a crowd of the inhabitants collected around me, as prevented my advancing. At length the chief, a handsome young man, came forward and accosted me; led me into the kraal; and opening an empty hut, I entered it. On my addressing him, I was rejoiced to find that he understood at least some part of what I said to him in the Caffrarian language. I then told him whence I came and whither I was going. He listened attentively; but from the looks which at intervals he cast at my bundle, I thought he seemed to wish I should present him with something from it. I took out three Dutch schillings which I had in my pocket, and gave him; he shewed great joy at receiving them; eyed them frequently with singular satisfaction; and seemed in return ready to render me any service in his power. I requested to have some milk; he went out, and soon after a young woman brought me both that and some cakes. When this was seen, his example was followed by others, and I had offers of milk from several. As night drew on, I began to prepare myself a bed in the hut to which I had been conducted, but was prevented proceeding,

and informed that its last inhabitant had been seized with the small-pox whilst in it. I then lay down on the outside of the hut, and was supplied with skins for covering by many of those present.

On the following morning, a head-ache which I felt on waking, attended with a shivering and other symptoms, indicated a high degree of fever. I lay still to promote perspiration; and great numbers of the inhabitants came flocking around my bed: several of these seeming to be persuaded that I had caught the small-pox, I shewed them some marks of that disorder both upon my face and body which I still retained. To the chief, who understood me, I accounted for my present indisposition, from my having the preceding day eaten some plums and drank milk immediately after. I had now recourse to the dried leaves which I had some time before received from my host, a mempa at one of the kraals, and from which I had received so much benefit. I reduced a certain quantity of them to powder, and having swallowed them, they produced such powerful evacuations that the fever left me; the next day I was perfectly recovered. I think I should have been invited to prolong my stay with these people but for one circumstance; several amongst them looked upon my disorder, as they do every thing of the feverish kind, to be contagious, and were therefore anxious for my departure. I left them consequently, having been presented with a good quantity of buffalo's flesh. In several of the fields belonging to this kraal grew both millet and Indian corn.

My path this day lay through a charming valley five German miles in length, situated beneath the chain of mountains of which I have before spoken. It abounded with various kinds of fruit-trees, but the intense heat had taken away my appetite, I did not therefore taste any of them. After sun-set I lighted a fire on the brink of a stream which winds through this valley: I thought it a pleasant spot, and determined to pass the night here; but it was so infested with snakes, that I never attempted to close my eyes in

sleep: near a hundred of all sizes were crawling around me attracted by my fire. Towards morning I saw at least an equal number of baboons, most of them sitting on the trees all about, from whence I could not dislodge them; nor did they seem at all afraid of me, though I hallooed and flung stones at them: those on the ground had even the audacity to approach and stare me in the face; many of them were three feet and a half in height. I was obliged to stay till these animals had dispersed before I set out on my journey, which kept me there later in the morning than I intended. From this valley I entered a beautiful plain, on which stood some huts, though but thinly scattered. Not far from hence is situated the boundaries which divide the Yamatian nation from that of the Mahotians, about half a day's journey from the river Makambo. A kraal, containing about forty huts, now appeared in view; to this I went, and was very kindly received: the inhabitants on my entrance assembled and danced round me; presenting me with milk, and millet-cakes, and shewed every appearance of good-will towards me. It was late in the night before my entertainers would leave me. I was then conducted to a space near the hut of the chief, where a bed was spread for me, and skins for coverings brought.

On awaking next morning, I found myself surrounded by a crowd of the natives, and was soon supplied with a plentiful breakfast. I wished to make some return for their hospitality, but my money being sewed up in my waistcoat, I thought it not so prudent to tempt their avarice by exposing it to view. I found my situation so comfortable that I determined to stay here some days, that I might obtain as much information as I could respecting the neighbouring nations, of whose cruelty and rapacity I had heard so much; and I learned in the course of my enquiries, that, although they did subsist by plunder, yet to the strangers who visited their territory they never broke through

through the rites of hospitality by offering them any injury.

An old man who had been officiously attentive to me, seemed above all to admire my dress, and shewed a great inclination to try on my breeches: those I wore not being quite free from vermin, I took a clean pair, made of linen, from my bundle, which he was vastly gratified on receiving, and drew them on with much pleasure. His daughter, a handsome girl, about fifteen, had presented me with some milk; and to her I gave one of my shirts, putting it on her myself; at which all present appeared highly delighted, and treated me with even increased kindness. Whilst here, I made myself an apron of two sheep-skins, which reached entirely round my body, greasing it with the fat extracted from the tail of the sheep, to prevent vermin from harbouring in it: this piece of dress I found in future very serviceable. Here too I exercised myself in throwing the javelin, assisted by the instructions of the old man I have mentioned. I attended their hunting parties, and took pains to acquire as much of the language as I could.

During my stay the inhabitants made a kind of wine, pressed from a fruit which they call *gagahogaha**, very pleasant to the taste, so much so that I rather exceeded in drinking it, which produced a degree of intoxication; I was all gaiety, and sung aloud. This brought most of the girls of the kraal, who thronged about me: and when they perceived my situation, each was eager to ply me with the same mirth-inspiring juice, which they brought me in gourd skins, and of which I quaffed repeatedly: this completed my inebriation; I caught several of the girls in turns, kissed them, skipped about, and played a thousand gambols. This unreserved freedom was exactly suited to their tastes, and I became thenceforward a general favourite amongst them: I had a constant and ample supply of provisions, and each seemed to look up to

* A sort of plum, as large as a hen's egg.

me with respect: if I appeared melancholy, dejection would spread through the whole circle: if I was gay, all was cheerfulness and hilarity.

It may not here be improper to give some account of the origin of the Yamatians, and to set their customs, manners, and national character in a true point of view. They, and some of the neighbouring nations, have been represented as savage and ferocious in the extreme; in reality very little is known of them in Europe; nor is it fair to judge a whole body of people by the conduct of a few individuals.

The Yamatians, assisted by some of their neighbours, became masters of the kingdom of Angola by conquest, having wrested it from the South Caffres. The date of this event is lost in obscurity; by their own account it happened *autorcup*, three hundred years since: however, as their years consist of but ten lunar months, this falls far short of the same period with us. Others say this conquest was gained upwards of four hundred years ago, but without ascertaining this assertion by any proof. The most probable conjecture is, that this invasion of the Yamatians took place about the time that the Portuguese first landed in Africa, where they attempted to propagate the Christian faith by fire and sword.

The language of this people is an intermixture of their own original dialect with that of the South Caffres; several of whose customs they have also adopted. The following are the most essential points in which they differ: in this nation the chief of the horde possesses a power almost unlimited; he enacts laws, and decrees punishments. Like the Caffres, however, the trial and execution of delinquents is always fixed for those days when the sun is obscured by clouds. In war their chief has the nominal command; but as there is very little either of discipline or subordination amongst them, each acts pretty much according to the dictates of his own judgment: forty or fifty sometimes form themselves into a body, and rush impetuously on the enemy; if their leader hap-
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pen to be killed or disabled by wounds, they then confer the command on the next man in whose abilities they have the greatest confidence.

The population of this nation may be estimated at about the number of thirty thousand souls. The chief employment of the men is hunting; that of the women, the management of household concerns, and the care of the cattle. Fathers instruct their sons, and mothers their daughters in domestic duties and the common business of life: their knowledge in religious institutions, and precepts of morality are instilled by the grandfathers and grandmothers. Circumcision is unknown amongst them.

Although the marriage ceremony may have taken place, a young man cannot obtain his bride till he make himself worthy of her by some proof of valour, such as killing a savage beast, or any similar act of prowess; he then may take not only his affianced wife, but two, three, or more if he choose it. Adultery is punished with death; on the woman's side it is never pardoned: yet their females are treated with much more consideration and respect than amongst many other of the African nations: particularly wives, if their first child chance to be a boy. Divorces are seldom had recourse to: if a woman bring no children, the husband makes his complaint either to his own grandfather and grandmother, or to those of his wife; these mention it to the chief of the horde, who generally decrees that she shall live some time with another partner; if she then have any family, the former husband must acknowledge the injustice he has done her in presence of the whole community, ask her pardon, and implore the gods to avert from him the punishment he deserves for his fault. The women do not suffer much in child-birth; as soon as they are taken ill, they are removed to one of the huts appointed for the purpose, where they are attended, during their confinement, by their female relations: no man, not even their husbands, being admitted to see them. In four days the woman is generally well enough recovered to

return home, where her husband, if the child be a boy, has already prepared a feast for the occasion; but if a girl, the entertainment is given by the woman to her female friends exclusively, not any of the men being allowed to be present.

The Yamatians have been described as an indolent people, in common with some other nations of Africa; but allowance ought to be made for the intense heat of their climate, which is so oppressive as to exhaust their strength; were even the most robust of our European labourers to be transplanted thither, I am confident they would be equally unable to toil beneath their burning suns. Add to this, that most of these tribes are totally unprovided with those implements which in other countries make husbandry so much more easy; they know nothing of spades, rakes, or other tools, so well fitted for their various purposes; nor, indeed, would they in all instances answer the end, as the ground is often so parched and hard that they find it necessary to break it with axes: the small quantity of millet and Indian corn which they do cultivate, costs them an incredible deal of time, and very severe labour. I have myself seen two strong, active men employed an entire day in digging up a piece of ground not more than six feet square. As soon as the seed is committed to the earth, they cover it over with a layer of sand, two inches in depth, to prevent the moisture from being too quickly dried up, or the ground from cracking, as it is apt to do if exposed to excessive heat immediately after rain. Their soil is so much better adapted to the breeding of cattle; and hunting and fishing is so much more productive of the means of subsistence than agriculture could be to them, that it is not to be wondered at that they prefer those less toilsome occupations.

That the Yamatians are too much addicted to theft cannot be denied; but they never add murder to plunder; nor do they eat human flesh, even that of their enemies slain in battle; although they have been painted

painted by some European travellers* as the most voracious cannibals: I never, at least during my residence amongst them, saw an instance of it. The stranger who visits them, and understands their language, has nothing to fear, particularly if poorly clothed, and not abounding in such articles as may tempt their avarice, or rather their taste for novelty; for if he demands any thing of which he has been deprived, they are sure to make him a compensation by giving something of their own in return.

They bury their dead at a distance from the kraals, and a fire is kept burning over the grave, by the relatives of the deceased, for three days after the interment, lest wild beasts should be attracted by the scent to root up the body. Indeed there are but few instances of deaths in the interior of the kraal; the sick are generally sent off as soon as seized to more distant huts, as all disorders amongst them are looked upon as contagious, and they hold it a duty incumbent upon them, that those in health should use every precaution to escape them.

* As Kolbe, Sparrmann, Patterson, and others.

C H A P. V.

The author leaves the territory of the Yamatians, and enters that of the Makotians.—Is at first treated with roughness, but much favoured by the women upon every occasion.—He is shown the bodies of five murdered Europeans.—Meeting with cruel treatment from the son-in-law of the chief, he resolves to fly.—Effects his escape, and arrives at another Mahotian kraal, from whence he is allowed to depart without molestation.—Reaches the river Makumbo, which had overflowed its banks, and enters a village belonging to the Kamtarians.—Some account of that nation, their character, customs, manners, language, &c.

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AT length, after a stay of three weeks, I thought it high time to resume my journey; accordingly I took leave, not only of this kraal, but of the nation to which it belonged. I now turned my face northward rather than towards the east, as the line which would lead me more directly to the Makumbo river, I crossed a beautiful plain, three German miles long, and half a one broad. Early in the evening I reached the river, and having prepared a raft, I crossed to the opposite side, where I determined to pass the night. Having lighted a fire, I got rid of the vermin which had for some time incommoded me so much, by burning all the clothes I had on, except the waistcoat into which I had sewed my money. Several roebucks were attracted by my fire, and I had the good luck to kill one with my hatchet, and feasted on the flesh.

In the morning, pursuing my route, I ascended one of the mountains which forms the chain that separates the

the Yamatian and Mahotian territories; of which, by noon, I had reached the highest ridge. In the evening I left these in my rear, and came to a sandy plain, where, lying down for the night, I covered myself to the neck in sand, and slept till morning, free from all annoyance.

I had not gone far the ensuing day, when, for the first time, I saw a party of Mahotians; these were six men who were hunting. They would have passed on without perceiving me, had I not called to them; on hearing me they stopped; I then advanced, and addressing them in the Caffrarian language, asked whether they had been successful in hunting? "Yes," they answered, "for we have caught a curious wild animal;" meaning myself. I drew no good omen from this, nor from their looks, which were rude and savage in the extreme. They now compelled me to take up a huge roe-buck which they had killed, and carry it along with them. Oppressed by my burden my strength failed me, and I several times sunk, near fainting, to the earth; but by reiterated blows I was forced to go on, tottering beneath my load, above two leagues, through brambles and high tangled rushes; to the great amusement of my conductors, who laughed heartily at the tones of distress, with which I besought their pity.

We did not reach the kraal till evening; it was situated on a flat, watered by a branch of the river Makumbo; and contained about forty miserable looking huts. Our approach was proclaimed by a vociferation from my companions; and immediately we were surrounded by most of the inhabitants, eager to see the surprising animal which the salutation of their countrymen had taught them to expect. When I had laid down the roe-buck, my bundle became the next object of their curiosity, and was completely ransacked; they even pulled off the skin with which I was coated, exhibiting me as an uncommon spectacle to the gazing multitude. Several of the women, young and old, observed to each other that I was very hands

handsome, and pleaded that my sheep-skin might be restored to me; but my tormentors refused, saying I looked much better without it.

I had now some milk given me; and at night was conducted to a hut, to the remotest corner of which I was confined, lest I should attempt to make my escape; and one skin only was brought me for a bed and covering. Thus wretchedly accommodated, my mind was filled with the most gloomy reflections, for I anticipated all that was savage in the treatment I should meet with here; but patience and resignation to my fate was now the only alternative that was left me. On my complaining of thirst, and requesting I might have something to drink, some milk and millet cakes were brought me.

Being recruited by my night's sleep, on the following morning I found my spirit and strength revive; and I formed the resolution, should I meet with a repetition of the treatment of the preceding day, to resist to the last extremity, even should death await me. When every one had left the hut I arose; and as my apron had not been left for me to put on, I wrapped the skin on which I had lain around my body, and was then falling forth, when at the door I met the mistress of the hut. I accosted her, desiring to have the things which had been taken from me restored; she could not answer in my language, but signed to me that I must return to my confinement, or I should be beaten by her husband. I repeated my request however, when she again answered me by signs that my property was all in that hut, but that she dared not take upon her to give it up to me. She then gave me some milk and millet, which hunger made me swallow with the keenest appetite. My repast ended, and seeing the roe-buck still whole which I had brought, I began to employ myself in skinning and cutting it up, as I had seen carcases done in Europe.

Whilst I was thus engaged, my host came up, and seemed much pleased at what I was doing: he attempted

tempted however to take off the skin in which I had dressed myself, but I would not resign it. This resistance surprised and rather startled him; he did not seem much dissatisfied, but went into the hut however, from whence he returned with his club, which he held up as if menacing me: but I was not intimidated, and in return pointed the knife* which I was using towards him. This was a piece of imprudence of which my life might have been the forfeit, for the spectators laughing aloud to see him thus foiled, so enraged him that he rushed towards me with the intent of knocking me down; I eluded the blow, and flying upon him, wrenched the club from his hands, and immediately levelled a stroke at him; but at the instant it was about to descend, I found myself seized by several persons, who pulled me away; my antagonist pursued us, calling aloud for vengeance, and still attempting to strike at me.

I was now taken to another hut, where was an old man, whom I supposed to be their chief. He examined me with scrutinizing curiosity; then, turning to my adversary, spoke to him for some time with a degree of vehemence, but I could only understand a few words of what he said. When matters appeared to be settled between them, the old man advanced to lead me into the hut; but I begged of him first to give orders for my property to be restored me, and, above all, my hatchet. He did not understand me, but the other explained to him what I had said, and a boy was dispatched, who soon returned with them. I then entered the hut, glad to screen myself, not only from the heat, which was become intense, but from the crowd without. A conversation was still carried on, of which I was the subject; by what I could gather from it, I found they wished for a child of my complexion; and it was resolved I should be detained till I would have one. In the evening the young women

* These knives are a foot long, the blades two inches in breadth; and are something like those used by shoe-makers in Germany.

men assembled in a space on the outside of the kraal, where they amused themselves with dancing; I was conducted thither, and the old man encouraged me by signs to join them; but I was too hungry to partake of their festivity, therefore did not stir: again he invited me, and brought a very pretty girl to present me as a partner; I took her hand, but still declined dancing. She looked at me as if to invite me to join the jocund circle; but I informed her by signs, that I could not till I had something to eat; upon this she flew to the old man, who instantly gave orders, and a good quantity of roasted meat, with some millet-cakes, were brought me.

When I had finished my repast, I started up with alacrity, seized my partner's hand, and hastened to join the dancers. Within about half an hour afterwards the old man retired to his hut; I followed him thither, accompanied by my partner, who staid all night. Early in the morning I was preparing to set out secretly, but my female companion perceiving my intention, prevented me, by informing my old host: upon this he would have beaten me; but the girl interceded for me, and I was forgiven, but allowed no breakfast; and, as a further punishment, was set to carry wood for the use of the hut. Whilst thus employed, I made a second attempt for my escape, and happily effected it. Having brought some loads of wood, I returned as if for another, but took the opportunity, unperceived, of flying in another direction, and soon reached a mountain, which offered me an asylum where I might be secure from pursuit. Although in this precipitate flight I was obliged to leave every thing behind me except my hatchet and the waistcoat I had on; I was rejoiced beyond measure to find myself thus at liberty; and ran with my fleetest speed, till I became so faint that I was obliged to stop; and though there was a kraal within view, I gave up all thoughts of reaching it that night.

Overcome with fatigue, exhausted by hunger and thirst, and hopeless of relief, I lay down on the ground, where

where I yielded to all the horrors of despair; I at length again raised my head, when I perceived a herd of cattle grazing at no great distance from me. I now exerted all my remaining strength, and crawled towards them, to obtain, if possible, some water from the herdsman. When I accosted him, he was about to answer me with blows; but upon my shewing him a gilder which I had taken from my waistcoat for the purpose, he relented, gave me a millet-cake, with some milk, and permitted me to rest beside him for the night.

As soon as morning dawned I arose, and leaving my host asleep, I quickly gained a wood which lay in a north-east direction: through this wood I pursued my way, and about noon entered a plain covered with rushes, where were several plum-trees. Here I lighted a fire, with an intention of remaining for the night, but a great number of elephants approaching me, I was obliged to decamp, and travelled all night.

At sun-rise I had reached the further extremity of the plain, and looking around beheld mountains on all sides, with a number of huts scattered over them. Excessively fatigued, however, I lay down on the grass, and deliberated whether I should approach or avoid the huts: the latter I thought my safest course; but I found it necessary to go in search of water to allay my thirst; as I was so near these habitations, I thought it likely I should soon find a spring; for this purpose I directed my course eastward, but without success. I was now about to turn to the north-east, when I saw some people with water vessels crossing my path from west to east. I ran with all my speed to come up with them, which I soon did, as they were advancing in the line which led towards me. They were women, four in number, and as soon as they came up with me, asked by signs the usual questions, whence I came, and whither going; I answered them, by signs also, that I was in search of water: one of them immediately gave me the water-pot she carried, which I nearly emptied. In the mean time she viewed me
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with attention, and when I returned the vessel, beckoned for me to accompany them to the kraal: I had no great inclination to accept of the invitation, but being pressed by hunger, I at length decided on following them.

Arrived at our place of destination, I was immediately surrounded by a concourse of people, consisting however mostly of females: what men there were, began to treat me in much the same manner as those in the kraal from which I had escaped; viewing me with similar curiosity; dragging, pulling, and each endeavouring to get possession of me. I sat down on the ground, determined on resistance, should their savage rudeness be carried to any extreme. The women, more humane, brought me some meat and milk, as they perceived I was hungry and thirsty; and whilst I was eating, formed a circle round me, to prevent the men from molesting me. At length an old man made his appearance; this was their chief, who viewed me with attention; he then desired the women to take me up and convey me to his hut, as he seemed to imagine I was not able to walk alone. He also ordered I should have some more meat and milk given me. After all his directions had been obeyed, he came to me, and desired I would accompany him and his son-in-law to a wood at some distance from the kraal. I was struck with a degree of dismay at this proposal, not knowing what might be their intent. On reaching the wood, my companions led the way to a hillock of sand, over which were spread a thick covering of branches; these they removed, but what was my horror at the spectacle now exposed to view! There lay the bodies of five white men pierced quite through in several places, and these wounds to all appearance given with javelins! Struck with dismay, and trembling with apprehension, I had nearly sunk to the earth, and believed I saw, in my two conductors, murderers, whose hands were ready to be raised against me also. They addressed me, however, and demanded whether I knew these men; I answered in
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negative; and then examined the bodies with attention, to find out if possible to what country they had belonged, but there was nothing that could lead to any discovery; no distinguishing mark of any kind except the figure of a cross on the right arm of one of them, which had been burnt into the flesh, and beneath it the letters T. E. M. with the date 1779. The satisfaction had spread too far to admit of any farther inspection, we therefore replaced the branches, and returned to the kraal. I now mentioned my intention of departing immediately, but to this they would not consent, and I was obliged to remain; with the firm determination, however, that if I found my life was to be the sacrifice, I would anticipate their intentions by piercing my heart with my own hand.

Different tasks were immediately assigned me; I was employed in carrying wood and water, and in cutting up their game; but I was never permitted to go without a guard, who was generally the son-in-law of the chief. As I exerted all the alacrity and dispatch I could in the discharge of these offices, I had abundance of leisure each day to walk about through the kraal, the inhabitants of which shewed me much kindness; and as I found my situation so easy, I determined to spend some weeks amongst them, that I might gain some knowledge of the country, and of the language; but this plan I was soon obliged to lay aside; for going one day to the wood for some fuel with my accustomed overseer, he made me a proposal that filled me with horror, which, on my expressing, he threw me down, and beat me so violently, that I was all over bruises; finding that neither persuasions nor force had any effect on me, he desisted; and though I was scarcely able to walk, obliged me to take up a bundle of wood and carry to the kraal. Here I was proceeding to make my complaint to the chief of the treatment I had met with, but his son-in-law threatened to put me to death with his javelin if I did so; and then told him a fabricated story of my having attempted to make my escape; and that

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on his preventing me, I had taken up a log of wood with an intention of killing him with it. In consequence of this false representation, no breakfast was given me, and I was treated with every species of neglect. At length I took an opportunity when alone with the old man to tell him all that had passed; but he only laughed, as at a thing not at all uncommon. This conduct accounted to me in some measure for the reception I had met with on my arrival at the kraal; I soon learned too, that the fate of the five Europeans, whose bodies I had seen, was the consequence of a contest between this horde and one belonging to the Kamtorians, a neighbouring nation, who had each endeavoured to get possession of them, with a view of robbing and treating them with the same indignities to which I had been exposed; and that to put an end to the dispute, the adversaries had murdered and plundered them, and then left their bodies exposed; which on finding, the Mahotians had deposited where I had seen them, and covered them over with branches. The Kamtorians inhabited a tract of land situated to the north-east, were represented to me as a savage and sanguinary people; and as, besides this, they were then at war with the Mahotians, I did not wish to run the risk of passing through their territories; nor could I attempt pursuing my route by any other line, as the broad and deep river Lorenzo would obstruct my passage. But as I feared a repetition of the same shocking treatment I had received, and had some reason to believe it was meditated, and that in consequence my life itself was in danger, I resolved to take the first opportunity of stealing privately away.

An occasion soon presented itself; a war-feast * was to

* This was a feast which they celebrate when war is to be resolved on, and in which they consult whether it is likely to be successful or otherwise. The following are the ceremonies used on those occasions: If war has been declared against them by a neighbouring nation, or if their own provisions fall short, whilst their enemies enjoy abundance, all their oldest men assemble

be celebrated, and the inhabitants, amidst their rejoicings, and being taken up all the evening in dancing, neglected to watch me with their usual circumspection; perceiving this, I watched the favourable moment, and taking my hatchet hastened to the wood from which I was accustomed to bring fuel, and hence happily effected my escape, determined to brave every hazard rather than prolong my stay here, which had already been extended to seven weeks.

Pursuing my way with my utmost speed, I soon reached a neighbouring mountain; and passing it with equal celerity, I travelled onwards without stopping, the night being even more than usually clear; and, except the wild beasts, which occasionally crossed my path, met with nothing to impede my progress. The sun had got above the horizon before I ventured to halt; I then sat down upon the projection of a rock, and appeased my hunger with some meat and millet-bakes which I had contrived to bring with me. Having rested here for about an hour, I again set forward, and soon entered a fertile valley ornamented with innumerable fruit-trees, and as I had not met with any water, my thirst made the fruit of the gogahoguha, which

assemble at the hut of the chief to deliberate on the best means to overcome their enemies, or to make themselves masters of that property which they stand so much in need of. If war is agreed on, two of their best marksmen are dispatched to shoot two roe-bucks, and on the following day the war-feast takes place. The two animals are then roasted whole, and whilst thus preparing, the chief proclaims to the whole body of the inhabitants the resolutions which had been entered into at the above consultation, exhorting his auditors to courage and unanimity: then, cutting up the carcases, he exclaims aloud; "I fight for you, and for the good of all, and as I now cut this beast in pieces, and consume a part of it, so will we cut our enemies to pieces, and consume them in the flames." Each one present then takes a piece of the flesh, and repeating the words of the chief, devours it; after which they fling the bones into the fire, and dance around it. The necessary preparations are then instantly set about, and their march against the enemy commences within a few days.

which I have formerly mentioned, doubly grateful to me. About noon I came to a small river, only eight feet broad and not quite four deep; called, as I afterwards learned, the Quopaknop. It has its source in a mountain to the westward, and winding its way among the surrounding steeps, at length takes a south-east direction, and empties itself into the Mahumba.

On casting my eyes forward, I perceived at the further extremity of the valley a kraal, which I wished to avoid; but it was too near for me to attempt it, and I already saw, about twenty paces from me, two men prepared to receive me with their javelins pointed. As they approached, I threw myself to the earth, calling out, "*tapan orikakoh!*" "The Gods bless you." When come quite near I found they were Mahotians summoning courage therefore, I asked them for some water, when they pointed out to me a spring on the other side of their huts; I went thither, and laying myself down on its brink allayed my thirst. By this time upwards of a hundred persons gathered round me who all appeared to view me with a kind of pity: by one I was presented with a piece of flesh-meat, another gave me millet-cakes, and a third some plums; and all joined in inviting by signs to enter their huts. I affected not to comprehend them, and lay still on the grass; some of them laid hold of me, as if to force me along; this exasperated me, and I prepared to defend myself with my hatchet, but they rushed upon me, wrested it from my hand, and dragged me into the kraal. Here they examined my dress with minute attention, and each gave his opinion as to what nation I belonged. I could not understand all they said, but found upon the whole that the majority were persuaded I was a *Watakulihav* (cannibal) and advised that I should either be put to death, or closely watched, and plentifully fed, lest I should be tempted to destroy their children. In consequence of the latter opinion prevailing, I was supplied with abundance of food, and they spoke of taking me with them against the enemy as a powerful assistant; but I expressed my design of proceeding on my

my journey without much delay; to this they did not object, and accordingly, on the fourth day after my arrival, I was conducted by three men to some distance from the kraal, where they pointed out to me the path which it was best for me to pursue, and then leaving me, permitted me to depart in peace.

It was on the 26th of September that I left this kraal; between which time and the 1st of October, I visited four more belonging to the same nation, crossed another mountain, and at length reached the river Makumbo, which I found so swollen that the opposite bank was but barely distinguishable, and for several miles in extent, the plains and huts on both sides were entirely under water.

On the 2d of October I discovered the first horde belonging to the Kamtorians. This nation inhabit a tract of country lying along the banks of the Tumba; and subsist chiefly by hunting and breeding cattle. The men are in general of a small size, with short curled hair; their complexion rather lighter than the three last nations whom I have described. They are almost always at war with the people of the neighbouring territories, and though not so numerous, are generally victorious, owing to their superior spirit and courage, and their great dexterity in throwing the javelin. They have from six to seven thousand fighting men and women; the latter being taller, and equally bold and spirited with the men: they consist chiefly of prisoners taken from other nations, as no females are brought up here, the girls being all destroyed as soon as born. Although they are not without a system of religion, they have no officiating priest; nor is circumcision or any ceremonial known amongst them. The oldest man of the village (for they do not use the word kraal) is generally sole judge as well as chief. Polygamy is allowed, and the first wife, who is always treated with the greatest respect, if she have no children by her husband, has the liberty of selecting another; and if she then have a boy, she may become wife to this last.

The Kamtorians are superstitious in the extreme, and circumstances of the most trifling nature are looked upon by them as ominous; for instance, if one of the tribe happen to be killed or wounded by a wild beast during the day, they conclude he has done something to offend the great goddess, and if in the night, particularly if the moon shine, that he has offended the little goddess, and that he is thus punished for his misconduct. When the weather is gloomy they confine themselves to their huts in total inactivity; the women only performing such domestic offices as are absolutely necessary. If a woman die in child-bed (which is, however, rarely the case) she is buried in a place apart from all others; and her family are obliged to quit the village for the space of six months, and live in huts at some distance, debarred from all intercourse with any of their countrymen. If a boy is born in lowering weather, or in the dark of the moon, it is believed that the father has offended the gods, and that therefore the child is unworthy of ever becoming an honourable member of the community; and he is in consequence, when grown up, doomed to the most menial drudgery, such as hewing wood, looking after the cattle, and similar inferior offices; on the contrary, if the young stranger come into the world when nature looks smiling, he is welcomed with feasts and rejoicings by the father and friends of the family.

Their dead are usually buried at the feet of trees by their relatives: at the time the funeral takes place a fire is kindled, in which the household furniture which had belonged to the deceased, is consumed, and the ashes thrown into the grave; the fire is then kept burning till the next full moon. Whoever obtains by plunder or conquest from any other nation a female, whether married woman or girl, may have her for wife if she consents; if otherwise he can sell her. The price generally paid in these cases is a sheep, or perhaps four hassagays; if she be uncommonly handsome, the number is sometimes raised to six. Much hospitality and kindness are shewn to strangers by these people.

There are various opinions as to the origin of the Kamtorians. Some say they sprang from a tribe who were expelled from their native country by a tyrannical sovereign named Nampagango, upon which occasion they applied to the king of Brigadis, and with his assistance avenged themselves on their oppressor by putting him to death. Others will have it that they were originally natives of Congo, who were driven out of that kingdom. Their language, however, differing so materially, is a sufficient confutation of the latter opinion. I did not hear a single word in their dialect in common with that of Congo. In support of this assertion, I shall here subjoin a few of the words of each of the languages: and particularly the numeral nouns, which amongst many different nations bear a close affinity, but which, in the present instance, are totally dissimilar:

<i>Kamtorian.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Congoan.</i>
Tinhe	One	Alag.
Silke	Two	Mazay.
Ghefea	Three	Cari.
Kukey	Four	Prigo.
Jahi	Five	Abyat.
Myhita	Six	Wuifu.
Jaheau	Seven	Emguy
Ajada	Eight	Mahzo.
Lugah	Nine	Benjo.
Tehfa	Ten	Nades.
Jakaro	Father	Akelaja.
Mohara	Mother	Eguanda.
Jujah	Good	Kalra.
Brejeto	Evil	Lukarahie.
Adulo	To steal	Pallakah.

The letter o at the end of words, in the Congoan language is pronounced like u. In the Kamtorian, the j sounds like i e.

C H A P. VI.

Customs of the Kantarians in war.—The Author quits them to proceed to the kingdom of Biri.—Arrives at Buhagari, the first town of that kingdom.—Mode of living of the inhabitants, with some observations on the nation.—Meets with a kind reception amongst them.—Continues his journey along the banks of the Makambo.—Character of the Gohavans.—Description of the kingdom of Matamoron.—National characteristics, with the customs and manners of that people.—The Author's journey to Seenhofa, their seat of government. Is admitted into the king's retinue. Finding himself in danger of being sold as a slave, makes his escape.—His foot wounded by a stone in his flight.—An inflammation ensues, which is increased by the cruel treatment of two inhabitants of the town of Drosah; a third, more humane, undertakes and effects his cure.

ON my first arrival at the Kantorian huts, which I mentioned in the last chapter, there were but few of the inhabitants in view; but a crowd soon collected round me, who seemed to welcome me with great joy, which they expressed by dancing and singing. On my giving them to understand by signs that I was hungry and thirsty, a handful of millet-meal was brought me, with a gourd rind half full of four milk: I was about to drink the milk by itself, when one of those present took the vessel from me, stirred the meal amongst the milk with a piece of a dried bone, and then returned it to me. I did not much approve of this mixture, but as nothing better was to be had, I was obliged to swallow it.

The sun having now nearly reached its meridian, I testified an intention of pursuing my journey, which seemed

seemed to inspire universal regret; some amongst them who understood a little of the Mahotian language, pressed me to stay some time longer with them. This invitation I wished to decline, and expressed to them by signs, aided by a few words, that I had a long way to travel, and therefore must be gone; still they would not consent to part with me, shewed me an empty hut as my lodging, and furnished me with a buffalo-skin for a covering.

The next morning some meat and four milk was brought me, and I was again requested to remain with them. The greater number of the inhabitants of both sexes now set out on their march against their enemies the Mahotians, with an intention of giving them *otako* (battle). This force consisted of about four hundred persons; and I was much pleased to see the order they observed beyond what I could have expected. The *woolika* (chief) first delivered a speech: this was succeeded by a war-song, after which the whole body formed into files four deep, and began to move: the tallest and stoutest looking men were placed in the foremost rank; next, those of a smaller size, all armed with javelins and battle axes, the latter three feet in length, and made entirely of a hard kind of wood; then followed the elder women, and the younger of both sexes brought up the rear, armed with battle-axes. I was left behind, under the care of a good old man, who talked to me without ceasing, though I would not seem to understand, of course did not answer him; he made me a present of a new calabash, and expressed a wish for my waistcoat in return: this rather startled me, as all my money was sewed up in it. Still, however, I affected ignorance of his meaning, and he did not repeat the demand. I now took an opportunity of viewing the whole of the village; it contained one hundred and thirty-four well-constructed huts, situated in a country called Afatahayi, very fruitful, and abounding in excellent water.

On the third day after the march of the warriors,

our ears were saluted with a song, which seemed to be at some distance; the inhabitants who had remained in the village, testified the utmost joy at the sound; it proclaimed a victory, and the return of the conquerors, and was a signal that a feast should be prepared for them, which was accordingly done by roasting a large quantity of flesh without any delay. I hastened out, and met the victors returning in the same perfect order as they had marched: seven of their number had been killed, and forty wounded, and they had brought home sixteen prisoners, five of whom were women. A circle was now formed in the centre of the village, where the chief delivered an harangue: this ended, the roasted meat was brought, and with milk was served about to all, and the greatest rejoicings and festivity took place; nor were the prisoners neglected; they had also a plentiful supply of food, and were treated with real kindness. The wounded too were attended to with much tenderness, and their hurts washed with a certain healing juice*. Their feasting ended, palm-branches were brought by boys, and distributed to such as had distinguished themselves during the engagement; after which dancing commenced, interrupted at intervals by songs. The female prisoners became the property of their respective captors, received amongst their other wives, and from that time treated with an equal degree of consideration. To the male prisoners were assigned huts; and they were also thenceforward looked upon in the same light as the natives. I further learned, that if a husband and wife are both captured, they are never separated, but supplied with a hut, cattle, and whatever is necessary for their subsistence. I was excluded

* This juice is pressed from a fruit produced by a tree called *egmatome* and *culanite*. The seeds are the size of a grape-stone, and the fruit is gathered before it is ripe, but not good to the taste till in a state of decay. After having lain on leaves for eighteen or twenty days, it is pressed; the juice is at first sweet, but kept some months it becomes sour: it is used in dressing skins, and also reckoned healing for wounds.

excluded from any personal share in this triumphal feast, but was admitted as a spectator, and received an equal portion of meat with the rest of the company.

On the 7th of October I was allowed to depart, and proceeded on my journey, attended by three persons, beyond the limits of the village. Towards noon, I entered on a plain bounded on either side by villages, which I determined to avoid. In the evening I reached a mountain in the kingdom of Biri, which I ascended, and passed the night on its summit. The next day at noon I arrived at Bahagari, the chief town of that kingdom; it is seated on an arm of the river Makumbo, and contains about seven hundred huts.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Biri, are far from being so fierce and savage as they had been represented to me by some of the neighbouring nations; they receive strangers with kindness, and treat them with hospitality. The king enjoys but few privileges beyond those of the chiefs in the inferior towns and villages. The government of the larger towns are in general vested in two magistrates called Monihaya (judges) who also discharge the offices of priests, instructors of youth, and soothsayers or prophets. They have the exclusive right of wearing cloaks made of the skins of tigers and zebras, called in their language *algehara bumkara*, the prophet's dress, which entitle the wearers to divers marks of respect: all those who meet them are obliged to stand still, with their right hand placed on their head, the left on the breast, till they are passed by. When disputes arise of any serious consequence, the chief of the place where they happen, must lay them before the king, together with the judgment, which has been passed upon them.

In warlike expeditions, which frequently occur here, the chiefs head their respective troops, whilst the king remains at Bahagari, his usual residence: should that place be threatened with any danger, he removes to Azzahua, another town on the frontiers which divide his

his territory from that of the Kaminaukais, a nation under his protection.

The population of this kingdom is estimated at about sixteen thousand souls. The soil is in general fertile, and in many parts well cultivated; but it is from the breeding of cattle that they derive their principal support. The next most advantageous object of industry which they possess, is a salt-mine; the produce of which they exchange with other nations for young cattle. The men are fond of the chase, but do not, however, neglect that degree of agriculture necessary towards their subsistence: they are tall and robust; their only cloathing are aprons made of palm-leaves. The women are short, and not of the most slender make; their dress the same as that of the men, with the addition of a covering of palm-leaves spread over their bosoms, and fastened with strings which tie behind; they are modest even to a degree of timid bashfulness. The colour of this nation may rather be called yellow than brown. They observe much strictness in the education of children: the father has the superintendence of that of the boys, the mother of the girls, till they attain the age of six years, when they are placed under the care of the *monihaya*, in order to their further instruction.

Of their religious tenets and institutions I could attain but a superficial knowledge; their morning and evening devotions, however, I observed were regularly performed in the open air: circumcision too was practised, but without any attendant ceremony. When a marriage is agreed upon, notice must be given to the *monihaya*, and the relatives on both sides being assembled before sun-rise, he ratifies the contract, after which dancing commences, and continues the whole of that day and the ensuing night with very little intermission. Divorces are only permitted in case the wife bring no children: Adultery is punished on the man's side, only by paying a compensation in cattle; whilst the offending female is expelled the community.

community. Polygamy too is sanctioned by the law.

Milk, millet, and meal* are their chief articles of food; the milk is most commonly allowed to grow sour, and the meal then mixed in it; they do not often indulge in eating flesh-meat. Their huts are spacious, well constructed, and of a circular form; the lower part covered with the bark of trees, and the top with rushes, bound tight round the edge with thongs, and rising in a spiral shape above. I was received with kindness by this nation, entertained by the *manihaya* in his own hut, and had a constant and plentiful supply of provisions. I had also an invitation to spend some time with them, which I accepted with much pleasure, as this being the season when the heat is most intense, travelling is made not so eligible.

Their harvest being now come on, I had an opportunity of seeing how it was gathered in; the process, though rather tedious, was however rational and methodical. The day previous to its commencement, all the public granaries † were cleared out, and whatever store of grain still remained in them was distributed amongst the inhabitants in certain proportions. On their first day of reaping, the labourers being all assembled in one place, prayers were offered up, and they, with the *manihaya* at their head, marched to the field; the ears of the corn were then cut off, spread upon hides, and immediately threshed. This last operation was performed with a kind of rolling stone moved very quickly to and fro. The grain, when freed from the chaff, was carried to those granaries which I have mentioned, and there deposited; the straw was plucked up, collected into heaps by the children, and burnt.

* Made of a grain which grows in husks, and is in effect much like barley. At the Cape it is called corn.

† A kind of cellars belonging in common to all the inhabitants. In the distributions thus made, two children were allowed an equal portion with one grown person.

burnt. A few days after this a harvest-feast was begun to be celebrated; it lasted two days, during which time most of their old stock of grain was consumed. The third day was observed as a fast, when all the individuals of the village before sun-rise assembled in front of the *monihaya's* hut, each carrying a palm branch; from thence they walked in procession to a space beyond the limits of the village, where a fire was kindled; they all sat down round it, and smoked some sort of leaves through wooden pipes. Barley, millet, and Indian corn are the grains cultivated here. I spent twelve days amongst these people, during which time I met with every mark of attention and hospitality; and at my departure was furnished with an ample supply of provisions for my journey.

On the 21st of October I left them, and pursued my course to the banks of the Makumbo. About noon I reached a village called Amahkai, consisting of forty huts; here I was received with kindness, and supplied with refreshments; after which I again set forward in a north-east direction, which I took to avoid a steep mountain which lay in the straight forward line. After travelling for some time I came to the banks of a lake where I stopped, lighted a fire, and then endeavoured to procure myself some fish. I had only gathered a few muscles, when suddenly I heard a voice from behind me exclaim, "*dohabakako notiaoser laba*," "stranger, beware of the lake;" when looking round, I saw three men running towards me, whose gestures seemed to repeat the warning that I should beware of venturing too near the lake, as it was very deep; nor would it, as they informed me, be safe to use any of the fish I should get from it, as some of their countrymen had found very pernicious effects from some which had been thrown up on its banks the preceding winter. This season with them lasts from April to June. They then invited me to accompany them, with which invitation I complied, and after a walk of some miles, we arrived at a village consisting of about sixty huts. I was much surprized to find that

that I was not here an object of curiosity, no crowd collecting around me on my entrance, as if they had not been unaccustomed to persons of my complexion.

On the 22d I resumed my journey, and passed over a chain of mountains at a good distance from the river; a great number of fruit-trees were scattered over them, amongst the rest several which were loaded with plums. I also saw a vast number of wild beasts, tigers and lions sprung across my path, yet none attempted to attack me: this I attributed to the country abounding so much with gazola, which satisfies their hunger, and makes them less voracious for human flesh.

The steep ridges, over which I now travelled, are of prodigious extent, stretching from north-east to south-west, across the kingdoms of Matamba and Biri. I was obliged to pass the night on one of them, but met with no annoyance of any kind. Having risen early, by eight o'clock I had descended from the mountains, and again found myself on the banks of the Makumbo; before me lay some villages both to the right and left, and I hastened to that next me, as from having eaten many of the yellow plums which I had found the preceding evening, a violent pain in my bowels had been the consequence. Here I experienced the utmost tenderness and humanity from the inhabitants; on my intimating by signs that I was not well, and begging permission to rest there for a few hours, it was not only immediately granted, but a piece of a certain kind of root was given me by two women, which they desired me to chew; and having afterwards drank some new milk which they had also brought me, I lay down upon the grass, and soon sunk into a tranquil sleep. When I awoke I found myself covered with buffaloeskins, and in a profuse perspiration: this I supposed had been produced by the root I had chewed; and on getting up I felt that my complaint was gone, and my strength and spirits perfectly restored. I staid all night

at this village, the name of which I found was Muiha.

On the following day I reached the Satamaha, a deep cavern on the borders, without having seen a single village in my way. As I approached it I was met by a man of uncommon large stature and bulk, who, accosting me, asked whither I would go: I replied, "through this to my native country." He then advised me to quit the road I was now on, as very unsafe, and to accompany him: I enquired to what nation he belonged; he told me he was a *gohawan*, and that the borders of his country were but about a quarter of a day's journey from thence. I agreed to go with him, and we quickly reached Zahmago, the first village on the further side of the frontiers.

I was now again viewed with a high degree of curiosity; my dress in particular was minutely examined: some of the spectators seemed to look upon me as a white slave fallen into their hands, and to suppose they had a right to treat me as such; but as I neither understood their language, nor they mine, they were again at a loss. I now signed to them that I was an oriental; this appeared to satisfy them, and to procure me a great share of their good-will; for they themselves derive their origin from the east.

As the *gohawans* neither breed cattle nor practise any degree of agriculture, they are consequently very poor: they may be said to subsist entirely by hunting, as what corn they have they procure from the *Birians* in exchange for the skins of the animals they kill in the chase. From a particular kind of plum they press a liquor, which, when mixed with water, is very pleasant to the taste.

The population of the entire nation does not at present exceed seven thousand five hundred. They were originally a powerful nation, but weakened by incessant wars, they were at length driven from their ancient possessions, which, according to them, was a fruitful tract of country situated under the line in this

this exigence they were kindly received and treated with compassion by the king of Biri, who assigned them the territory they now occupy. Tired of warfare, they are become more peaceable, and have adopted the laws, customs, and manners of the Birians, with whom they are becoming every day more closely united, by frequent intermarriages, and a reciprocity of kind offices. In height of stature and strength of body, however, they are superior to their friendly neighbours; from whom they are also distinguished by their large eyes, and the flatness of their noses, in which they wear rings and teeth of wild beasts, ornaments never used by the Birians.

Notwithstanding their poverty, they practise hospitality, and make it a rule to entertain every stranger for four and twenty hours. They are, it is true, rather addicted to theft, as I experienced soon after my coming to the village; a strong active young fellow snatched my hatchet out of my hand and ran off with it. The buttons of my waistcoat also excited the avarice of some, and they attempted to pluck them off. Finding this, and fearful of losing the waistcoat itself, and with it all my money, I despoiled it of four of the buttons, and presented them to the chief, who thenceforward defended me from any farther pillage.

On the morning after my arrival I applied to the chief, in whose hut I had slept, requesting he would order me a safe conduct as far as his jurisdiction extended: he did not appear to understand me, and only pointed to the road by which I was to travel. I therefore set off alone; and when at such a distance as not to be seen, I sat down behind a bush, and cut off all the buttons which still remained on my waistcoat, to prevent any future temptation to deprive me of it. In about an hour I reached another village, situated on the side of a mountain, and containing about seventy huts. I entered it for the purpose of getting my calabash replenished with water, and was happy to find I could make myself understood by the inhabitants, one of whom knew the meaning of several of the words

words I addressed to them. I asked for some water, upon which they conducted me to a well, and brought me half a gourd rind fastened to a long stick, which I let down, and drew up the water for filling my calabash.

Although my appearance seemed to excite general curiosity, yet no attempt was made to detain or molest me, and I proceeded on my way, which, however, presented me with other difficulties. The road was rugged, and lay over a chain of craggy mountains stretching to the northward, over which I was obliged to clamber at the imminent hazard of my life; whilst the heat was so oppressive that I was oftentimes ready to faint. At length, after a painful and tedious journey of three German miles, I arrived at the village of Bayaka; where, after having taken some refreshment, I lay down in the open air, near one of the huts, without any covering, and slept the night; but in the morning found I had caught a severe cold, and coughed violently.

On the 26th and 27th my road was still rough and unpleasant, nor did I, during that time, see more than one village which consisted of seventy huts. On the 28th and 29th I traversed a plain, over which were scattered some shrubs and bushes. On the last of those days, being pursued by six wild dogs, I was obliged to climb a tree for refuge; I staid here in durance for some hours, after which I again ventured to proceed; but soon found myself nearly exhausted with weakness, being reduced to the necessity of subsisting on leaves of trees, and what roots I could procure, as my provisions and water were long since expended.

On the 30th I entered a valley through which flows the Sohmo. This river forms the boundary of the kingdom of Mataman: though its usual breadth is not more than eight or nine feet, in winter it swells so much as to overflow this entire valley, which is upwards of two miles in extent.

The kingdom of Mataman is in general mountainous, but there are many intervening valleys rich with fertility,

fertility, beautiful meadows, and a vast number of fruit-trees; from the indolence of the inhabitants, however, these advantages held out to them by the hand of nature, are far from being improved as they ought to be. The monarchy is hereditary, and the king enjoys an unlimited power; he is stiled *sohaarwoia* (chosen by the gods): his dignity in failure of male issue descends to the female. When one of the latter succeeds to the throne, she must choose one of her own subjects as a husband, who reigns conjointly with herself; but it must first be ascertained whether he possesses the necessary qualifications and abilities, and for this purpose he is examined by the elders of the land. The king discharges also the offices of high-priest and prophet; he has likewise the superintendence of the youth, and assists in their instruction. His decisions are observed with respect, even though they should not be exactly conformable with justice. To have a plurality of wives is his exclusive privilege, and he has the appointment to all offices, such as subordinate judges, priests, &c. He never heads his troops in person, but when they are obliged to take the field, deposes the command to others. The soldiers are courageous, and very expert in the use of the bow: the military force is said to be about thirty thousand men.

There are three large towns in the kingdom, the principal and most populous of which is Seenhofa, the royal residence, and situated about two days journey from that frontier by which I entered the kingdom. In each town a chief presides, who is appointed by the king; he is likewise the officiating priest, and called *mohwoia*; but, as judge, he cannot pass sentence of his own authority; the final decision in all cases resting with the king.

In their religious observances, this nation in many things agree with the Mahomedans; circumcision is equally in use amongst them, with the same attendant ceremonies. Their public worship is performed in the morning in the open air, at whatever place the priest chooses to appoint: the form is very simple; the people

ple ranging themselves in a circle, the priest stands in the midst and pronounces an harangue. Marriage contracts here, as amongst the south Caffres, are entered into without any religious rites: wives possess the love and esteem of their husbands, who therefore never oppress them with laborious tasks, taking a part of the household drudgery on themselves. Children, till about their fourth year, when it is supposed the understanding begins to open, continue under the care of their parents; the boys from that period are instructed by the mohwoia, whose wife performs the same office with regard to the girls.

Their dress is nothing more than aprons of palm-leaves, which reach to their knees; the men twist their hair round pieces of bone, generally ribs of sheep; I have often seen six or eight of these ornaments dangling from one head; the women tie theirs up with small thongs, and have sometimes five or six of the braids hanging over their foreheads. They eat only one regular meal in the day, and that at sun-set; in the intermediate time, they occasionally take a little rye or millët with some sour milk: such is their extreme indolence, that their provisions often falls short; and they will rather suffer the sharpest pains of hunger for several days together, than use the necessary exertions to procure food. Salt is a very scarce article amongst them, what little they in general use they get from Mazumbo; but when at war with that nation, as they sometimes are for years uninterruptedly, they cannot have a supply; in this case some make use of a very bad kind procured by burning the bones of animals.

On my entering the Mataman territory, and reaching the first village, I was conducted to the hut of the mohwoia, who gave me a handful of barley, with some milk. Having eaten this, the man who had been my guide into the village, in his turn, brought me some more of the same kind of provisions; this offended my first entertainer very much, and a violent dispute arose between them, which, however, terminated with-

without any unpleasant consequences. The mohwoia contended, that, as chief, he alone was entitled to extend the rights of hospitality towards me; whilst the other as eagerly asserted, that he, as the person who had introduced me into the village, was equally privileged to entertain me*.

The day following I set out for Seenhofa to visit the king. The mohwoia gave orders that some men should attend me part of the way to point out the route I was to take; and supplied me with water and meal for my journey. In the earlier part of the day I alternately ascended over steep mountains, and pursued my path through the intervening valleys, where I found meadows covered with the most beautiful verdure. I visited the village of Yaauhon, and towards noon arrived at another called Kasoho, consisting of about thirty handsome well-constructed huts. Here I paid my respects to the mohwoia, from whom I received a further supply of water and meal. From thence my road lay through a richly fertile vale, abounding in fruit-trees, amongst others were several which bore a kind of pomegranate; on these I plentifully regaled, and determined to pass the night beneath the shade of the spreading branches; but a herd of buffaloes choosing to pay me a visit, to avoid them I was obliged to climb one of the trees, and there I took up my station till dawn of day, when my visitors dispersing, I was at liberty to resume my journey. I next came to a village named Okohama; here, however, I did not stop, but proceeded directly to Seenhofa, through valleys smiling with verdure, and ornamented with trees, most of which were loaded with the finest fruits: the latter part of my way was along the edge of an aqueduct, made for the purpose of conveying water from the city from the distance of about a German mile.

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* I afterwards learned that it was really the place of the mohwoia, according to the laws of the country, to receive and entertain strangers; and that for this purpose he is allowed to take corn out of the public granaries, of which he has the superintendence.

I arrived at my journey's end about sun-set, and went immediately to the mohwoia, as the person by whom I was to be accommodated; he gave me some meal and four milk, and afterwards conducted me to a hut contiguous to his own; where, having carefully fastened the door, he left me to my repose, which I enjoyed free from all manner of disturbance.

I did not wait long to have my wish of seeing the king gratified; early on the following morning the mohwoia came into my hut, and beckoning to me to follow him, led me through a long street of huts to a green space, where we found a numerous concourse of people ranged in a circle, in the midst of which was the sohaawoia (the king) seated on a block of wood, and holding his battle-axe in his hand. He was to all appearance a man about forty years of age. Having the preceding day taken four guilders from my waistcoat, that I might have them ready to present the king, I now advanced within the circle with these in my hand. His majesty, turning to a person who stood next him, and who had undertaken to act as interpreter, desired him to ask me whence I came, whither I was going, and for what purpose I visited his territories. With much difficulty I made out the meaning of what was addressed to me; and the interpreter was still more at a loss to comprehend my answers, his knowledge of the Caffrarian language being very limited; he explained to the king, however, as well as he was able, the account I gave of myself, and was next ordered to demand of me whether I was a Moor or a Christian: I did not chuse to confess to either of these denominations, not knowing what danger either might incur, so answered I was an Arab, thinking it probable they would not understand the term. I now approached and presented my four guilders to the king, at the same time preferring a request that he would give orders I should be supplied with provisions. After looking at the money for some time, he desired one of his wives to bring me some milk and meal, which she having done, and mixing them together, I sat down on the ground whilst I took my breakfast.

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The king then invited me to his hut, where I accompanied him, and a mat was given me, on which I seated myself. He looked at me with great attention for some time, and then desired the interpreter to inform me, that if I would give him some more money, he would keep me with him, and make me a *kahseeto* (servant); I assured him that I had no more money, but would accept his offer with gratitude. I was in reality glad of this opportunity to acquire some knowledge of the country, and of the characters, customs, and manners of the inhabitants. In a few days, however, I discovered that I was looked upon in no other light than that of a common slave, and of course had every reason to apprehend that I should sooner or later be sold, or bartered to some of the neighbouring nations*.

Although I was abundantly supplied with provisions, I was upon the whole by no means pleased with the conduct of the king towards me; his household consisted of himself, his wives and children, with a few domestics, who all inhabited separate huts. As his majesty was much inclined to jealousy, I was debarred all access to the females of his family; and was obliged to spend most of my time with him in his hut, or in attendance on him in his hunting parties: on the latter occasions, the most laborious part of the amusement fell to my share; that of carrying home the animals which were killed, and generally of cutting them up; but, fortunately for me, these expeditions did not often occur, never being had recourse to

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* Most probably it was from the Africans themselves that the Europeans on their first discovering their coasts acquired the idea of the slave-trade. Except amongst the south Caffres, this traffic in human flesh is carried on by every nation I visited on the continent of Africa. Those devoted victims will, perhaps, in the course of a few years, pass through the hands of many different masters: for instance, the people of Mataman frequently barter them with those of Mazumbo for salt; these again selling them for corn to the inhabitants of Congo; are thus, after having gone from nation to nation, they at length become by purchase the property of the Europeans.

except in a case of dearth of provisions: at all other times, the king, as well as the greater number of his subjects, passed his time in the most supine inactivity, devoting many of his hours to sleep; which last custom imposed upon me the most painful restraint, being obliged to watch beside him in a state of immoveable stillness.

My daily allowance of food was about a pound of meal or unground corn, with a kan of sour milk; of a day, when I was regaled with flesh-meat, the usual portion of meal and corn were withheld. The king was pleasing in his appearance; he was a man of middle stature, and well-formed. He carried me one day to see his son, who dwelt to the eastward, where he had been appointed mohwoia: his two grand-daughters, one about nine, the other seven years old, came skipping round me, exclaiming "*yano ko'o*" (a handsome white man). Their mother soon joined them, and seemed to feel equal partiality towards me, which excited the jealousy of the mohwoia; he conversed for some time very earnestly with his father; and the eldest daughter, all the rest having left the hut, endeavoured to explain to me the purport of this conference, which was to this purpose; that it being supposed I had a design to seduce the king's wives, as well as that of his son, it was therefore decided that the first opportunity that offered I was to be sold to another nation. Startled at this information, I instantly formed the resolution of making my escape, in case I should be refused the liberty to depart.

I accordingly applied to the king the next day for permission to resume my travels: he answered, that a party of his subjects were going in a few days on a commission of traffic with a neighbouring nation; and that I should then accompany them. Convinced that I should myself become one of the objects of this traffic, I watched with anxiety the favourable moment for flight, which on the 29th of November fortunately presented itself.

The king had appointed that day to take the diversion

of the chase, in which I was, as usual, to accompany him, and to carry for his use a calabash of water, a leathern bag of millet, and a javelin*. Before our setting out, I received orders not to stray far off, nor to such a distance from the king as I was accustomed to do, that in case of any danger, I might be at hand to assist him. Our pursuit this day lay through a wood to the westward of the town, beautifully diversified with rising grounds, and interspersed with fruit-trees. We had no sooner entered this wood, than feigning to have been attacked with a violent illness, I seated myself on one of the little eminences. My master had no notion of any deception, and taking the javelin, left me to repose till he should return, to call me. No sooner had he disappeared, than springing from my resting place, I ran with my utmost speed in a northern direction, which I knew led to a mountain at some little distance. The heat was oppressive, and my thirst so extreme that I suffered much; I would not relax my speed, even to refresh myself by draught from my calabash. After a race of three hours, I arrived on the banks of a river, called, as I afterwards learned, the Cayeto (sweet river). Fortunately it was not too deep to be forded, and I should have crossed it with safety, but in the eagerness of my race I was unmindful of my steps, and struck my foot so violently against a sharp stone at the bottom, that I fell down in the water; and had the current been a little more rapid, must infallibly have been drowned; with some exertions, however, I was able to recover myself, and quickly gained the opposite brink: thence I still hurried on, and, though I saw alligators on both sides, I avoided them with so much care

* These weapons are two inches broad, one deep, a foot in length, and pointed at one end; they are fastened with thongs to long poles, and generally carried by hunters in that country to defend them, in case any of the wild beasts should turn on them, which they sometimes do when irritated by wounds. They are also borne by their warriors in battle, upon which occasions the points are poisoned.

care that I escaped the observation of the inhabitants. In the evening, having gained the recesses of a w and the pain from the wound in my foot becom excessive, I stopped to rest for the night. I slept little, and in the morning was scarcely able to m my foot, the inflammation was so violent; it had t ed to a kind of erysipelas, and as I had some of millet remaining, I determined to stay where I was that day, and take care of my wound. I applied f of the green leaves to it, and found they in a great gree assuaged the pain.

The following day, the 1st of December, I esse to walk, but could limp but slowly along; tow noon, however, I arrived at the town of Dre situated on a rising ground, and surrounded with g pasturage. It contains about two hundred and huts, divided into four streets, the whole formi sort of crescent. On my arrival I enquired for mohwoia, and was immediately conducted to him. received me with much kindness, which became more marked on my presenting him with three gils. Perceiving the wound in my foot, however, he ref me admission into his hut, from the absurd idea he might be infected with a similar complaint. I with the same inhospitable rejection from all to w I applied, till at length an old man, who see to be superior to this prejudice, and was touched v compassion for my situation, took me to his hut, after having given me a draught of milk to refresh. he proceeded to dress my foot by binding round it f green leaves bruised between two stones.

The pain was so much abated the following m ing, that I determined to set off, fearful I might yet be out of the reach of pursuit: accordingly I t leave of my kind host, after bestowing a gilder in turn for his attention. I now bent my course to north-east, and about noon arrived at the vil Akilah. Here the inhabitants seemed much incli to detain and treat me as a slave; my ragged at wounded foot, and long beard, not rendering my peara

rance very prepossessing, was, I believe, the only son that deterred them; and after a very few hours rest, obtaining a little milk, I again proceeded onward, these might not continue a sufficient preservative. Having limped about a league further, at the entrance of a narrow road, between two mountains, three stout king men, to all appearance hunters, rushed suddenly on me. They put some questions to me; as well as I could understand the usual ones, of whence I came, whither going, and to what nation I belonged. I replied that I was a native of the west country, towards which I was now travelling: this did not seem to satisfy them; they still continued to interrogate me; but, as I did not comprehend, I did not attempt to answer them. Two of them now laid hold of me, one by each arm, whilst the third took my calabash from me; and leading me between the mountains, they shewed me a young wolf they had killed, and desired me to take it up and follow them. With this requisition I did not immediately comply, and in excuse shewed them my wounded foot: but this was to no purpose, they insisted; one of them even struck me several times with his javelin, and threatened to pierce me through with it, if I did not instantly do as they would have me. I was at length forced to comply, and picking up the carcase, was obliged to follow, though at a very slow pace, which from time to time they endeavoured to quicken by blows.

The path through which they led was overgrown with high rushes; this, with the excessive heat, the burden I carried, and the pain of my wound, so overpowered me, that I several times sunk, near fainting to the earth; I besought their compassion, but with the most hardened barbarity, by reiterated strokes they forced me to proceed till more dead than alive, I again found myself in the same village I had quitted but a few hours before. Having laid down my load, I was desired to be gone; but, unable to walk, I sat down near the hut of one of my persecutors; but even this indulgence was inhumanly denied me, and I was

was forced with threats from thence. Obligated to move, I crawled towards a hut, where, at noon, I received some milk, and the master of which happened to be at that moment looking out of his door supplicated his pity, in return to which, he asked why I could not walk; I shewed him my wounded foot, and he prepared with promptitude to assist me but on perceiving my whole body covered with blood (this, however, was partly that of the wolf which he ran in streams down my waistcoat whilst I carried him) his interest was still more strongly excited, and he expressed by his gestures both abhorrence and indignation against those who had treated me thus barbarously. He brought out a sheep-skin, and spread it at the front of his hut, upon which he desired me to sit down; then, having closely inspected my foot, he spoke to a girl standing by, who disappearing, quickly returned with several different kinds of leaves: these he examined with care, and having selected some, he spread them over the wound, fastening them round my foot; he then ordered some milk and meal to be given me and treated me in every respect as if I had been his countryman. A bed was prepared for me in a commodious part of the hut, and skins for a covering.

During the first hours of the night I could get no sleep; partly owing to the pain I felt, and partly that I entertained some doubts as to the sincerity of my host; but in this I did him wrong; he was a real philanthropist, of which his subsequent conduct to me was a convincing proof. Day had scarcely dawned when he arose, and coming to me, enquired whether my pain was abated; I answered in the negative, at which he seemed much surprized, having supposed that the leaves would have been more immediately efficacious. He then desired I would go on the outside of the hut, which I did, though scarcely able to crawl: and on examining the sore, he was much alarmed to find it vastly worse. He was not, however, long at a loss, but sending for leaves of another kind, something of the willow species, he bruised them between

ween two stones, and mixing them with grease, made a kind of salve, with which he anointed my leg, rubbing it with so much violence as nearly to deprive me of my senses: he then bound the part which was most swelled very tight round with a leather thong, and made me lie down. The pain being now less violent, I soon fell asleep. I did not awake till evening, when I found that some palm-leaves had been rolled round my foot, which felt now considerably easier. It was eight days however before I could attempt to walk.

During the period of my confinement, a man one day came into the hut, to whom my host detailed all the particulars of the situation in which he had found me, and dwelt with peculiar emphasis on the cruel treatment I had received from some of the inhabitants; at which the stranger expressed the utmost indignation. When he went away I was informed that he was the Mhwoia, son-in-law to my preserver; and that he had declared he would punish my cruel tormentors in the most exemplary manner.

On the tenth day after my arrival, I would again have proceeded on my journey, but the wife of my benefactor having been delivered of a boy, I was requested to stay for the feast, which was to take place on that occasion. I therefore postponed my departure till the day following; at which time I received an ample supply of provisions. I this day passed by three villages, and early in the evening reached the boundary which divides this territory from that of the Seegerins. I took up my lodging for the night at Mukosa, a village situated on the summit of a hill.

CHAP. VII.

Short sketch of the history of the Seegerins.—Their national character.—The author arrives at Mukosa, the first village of that nation.—Reflections on the slave-trade.—A tiger-hunt described.—Pursues his journey.—Is taken prisoner and carried into the province of Porguhomat (Osila in the maps,) but treated with kindness there.—Some account of that people.—Receives orders to march with a party to the frontiers, on a hostile expedition against a dealer in slaves, who is conducting a large band.—In this attempt to deliver the negroes, the author is himself taken prisoner and carried with them (suffering great hardships by the way) into the country of the Sovians.—Description of that nation.—Similitude to the Angolans.—Difference between the two languages.—The author becomes a cow-herd in the service of the mani, whose fourth wife conceiving a passion for him, and making him advances, to avoid her persecutions he makes his escape.—Arrives in Angola.—Description of that kingdom.—Appearance of the country.—Its boundaries and produce.—History of the revolutions it has undergone.—Its political constitution.—The king.—Customs. Manners.—And national dress.—The author robbed of his money and papers by an ewanga (judge,) and is in danger of his life from the avarice and cruelty of his oppressor; but delivered by the justice and humanity of the king.—Description of Mahaka, seated on the river Coanza, where the king resides.

THE Seegerins are a nation equally indolent and poor; who subsist chiefly by hunting. They were formerly possessed of a high degree of power and of very extensive dominions; but the almost incessant wars in which they were engaged with their neighbours, and in which they were seldom successful, have by degrees deprived them, in a great measure, of both. The territory of which they are at present masters is not more than two days journey long, and about one-fourth of that extent in breadth; their population eight

eight thousand souls at the utmost calculation; their huts of a miserable construction—merely four posts stuck in the ground and covered with rushes; there are seldom more than ten or twelve of these in what they call their villages. The natives are low in stature; their colour rather inclining to red than brown; their hair short and curled; and their noses flat: aprons, rather short, is their only clothing; they are reckoned most expert marksmen, and are famed for hospitality; they have, it is true, one reprehensible custom, which is even sanctioned by their laws—that of robbing strangers of their clothes, if these happen to be of any value, as soon as they are gone from under their roofs: they have no king; but the whole nation is under the government of one chief, whom they call kooyamah. From a mountain which is situated at the western extremity of their territory, they bring all the salt they use, and even a superfluity of this article, which they barter with other nations for different commodities. They are frequently at war with the Matamans; and the prisoners which fall into their hands in these conflicts are always exchanged with their other neighbours for some of their products; and, by means of this kind of traffic, come at length to be purchased by the European slave-merchants on the coast of Congo.

And now that I have mentioned the slave-trade, it may not be here improper to say a few words on that subject. The original slave-dealers are Moors, who, in their wandering excursions as far as the desert of Sahara, and through the interior of Africa, make a practice of stealing children and young persons of both sexes, whom they dispose of to the chiefs of the different nations, for cattle and grain; or for fire-arms, powder, and ball. These ill-fated beings are accumulated in numbers by the chiefs, who sell them in bands of twenty, forty, or sixty together, to the Portuguese, French, and English, on the coast, whither they are driven like so many head of cattle, not unfrequently from the distance of from ten to twenty days
H 2 journey,

journey, during which they are treated even worse than they treat their cattle.

Had the commodities of Europe never been carried to Africa to tempt the rapacity of the natives, this species of traffic never would have been known amongst them: and how must every true friend to humanity shudder, when, in addition to this original evil, the barbarities to which those unhappy sufferers are exposed is taken into the account—barbarities inflicted by those who boast of their reason, and who call themselves Christians, whilst in this part of their conduct they are even worse than cannibals themselves. But not here alone; in how many other countries are thousands bowed down beneath the yoke of slavery? In how many parts of the globe has the pure religion of Christ been perverted to the purposes of oppression; of degrading free-born men from their native dignity, and placing them in a rank scarcely superior to that of brutes, and this only for the detestable end of amassing riches, or of acquiring unlawful power. Can it, therefore, be wondered at, if amongst nations where for these purposes alone Christianity has been attempted to be propagated by fire and sword, but where its tenets, thus disgraced, have been either rejected or afterwards abjured—can it, I say, be wondered at that Christians are in their turns the objects of hatred and persecution to those men, when they chance to fall into their power; that the name itself should be looked upon as synonymous with that of murderer, plunderer, or desolator? And yet these very people have been stigmatised as the cruellest and basest of the human race, merely for having retaliated upon a few Europeans those injuries which thousands of their countrymen have sustained upon innumerable occasions.

I will answer for myself, that I experienced very few instances of bad treatment amongst them; and now by the Seegerius I was received with kindness. On my arrival in the village which I have already mentioned, a number of people assembled about me, and conducted me

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to their chief, who immediately presented me with a beverage, composed of water and a kind of juice extracted from plums, which he poured into it; after which he invited me to sit down. As they have many peculiarities in their language, and their pronunciation even of those words which they have in common with other nations differs so materially, I did not understand any of the numerous questions which they addressed to me; and found it difficult to inform them whence I came and whither I meant to go: to express the latter, I pointed to that part of the country towards which I was travelling; upon which they used a variety of gestures, which seemed to signify that they would advise me against going thither.

Part of the following day I employed in collecting what information I could respecting the countries through which I was to pass; and in the afternoon accompanied four men of the village on a hunting party to an adjacent wood. A tiger soon came in view, which they determined should be their prey. I shewed a little alarm at the preparations they made for that purpose; but they laughed at me, whilst they proceeded in their design, which they actually had the good fortune to accomplish without receiving the slightest hurt themselves. Whilst two of them threw their javelins at the beast, the other two stood ready, each holding a spear in his right hand, and in his left a piece of strong leather made of a buffalo or elephant's hide; the latter to be used as a defence in case the tiger should be only wounded and attempt to attack them, which really happened, for, running towards them, he attempted to seize the man next him by the throat; but, perfectly undismayed, he thrust the hand which was covered with leather into the mouth of the enraged animal, and deprived him of the power of biting, whilst with the other he plunged the spear he held into his side; when the other three, rushing upon him, quickly dispatched him. They use just the same process in the destruction of lions and wolves.

On the 15th of December I left these people, and,

pursuing my journey, traversed a valley through which ran a spring, of which the water was yellow and of an acid taste *. I passed three villages in my progress, but as it was yet early in the day I did not stop at any of them; at the fourth I came to, which was called Aih-mato, I was tempted to rest for an hour under a fine *mahatora-tree* †. Here the inhabitants viewed me with much attention, and one of them offered me a piece of flesh, which I saw had been cut from the carcase of a wolf, and from which I at first turned with loathing; but finding I was not likely to obtain any other, I at length accepted it, and must own it tasted to me preferable to the flesh of buffalo. In passing through a wood, about two German miles from this village, I saw a vast number of tortoises; this created a keen appetite, to gratify which I determined to pass the night beneath the shade of some of the surrounding trees. I accordingly lighted a fire, prepared and dressed my supper, which tasted so favourably as tempted me to exceed the bounds of prudence in eating it; in consequence of which, I could not compose myself to rest till towards morning; when I sunk into a sleep, which I had enjoyed scarcely an hour when I was awoke by something moving at my feet; and, on raising myself a little, I beheld a serpent, which appeared to be about three ells long and a foot in thickness ‡, very busily eating the remains of my supper. Struck with consternation and alarm, I sprung on my feet, and ran, without once stopping, nearly half a mile. When I stopped, and had a little recalled my scattered senses, I missed my calabash; not choosing to leave it behind, I ventured back

* Possibly a chalybeate water impregnated with vitriol.

† These trees have long narrow leaves, pendant branches, the blossoms red, and the fruit about the size of a large pea, and of the same globular form; when arrived at maturity, it contains a kind of flour of an excellent flavour; this the natives make into cakes, which do not eat inferior to our biscuits.

‡ This species of serpent, of such disproportioned length and thickness, is probably peculiar to Africa; and is, I believe, unknown to our naturalists.

back and found it untouched, but the serpent was vanished.

I now quitted the wood, and soon reached an extensive plain; in one part of which was situated the village of Ogtih, consisting of about thirty huts. As I had no intention of stopping here, though I was obliged to pass through it, I walked on without asking any questions, that I might attract the less notice; one of the inhabitants, however, by the time I reached the middle of it, had brought out a tortoise-shell filled with water, mixed with the juice of plums, which he presented me, together with a handful of the plums themselves; but no effort was made to detain me.

I next came to a valley of no great extent; a small river flowed through it, but the water was not fit to drink; it furnished me, however, with some fine muscles, on which I made a hearty dinner. Early in the evening I reached the further boundary of the territory which I had lately traversed; it was formed by a long and narrow chain of craggy mountains, too barren to afford me even a single plant or root for food. I passed the night on one of them, and went to rest rather uncomfortable with the cravings of hunger.

At an early hour in the morning I was roused by the sound of human voices; and looking round, I beheld a band of about twenty armed men, who appeared to be an escort to a number of prisoners that accompanied them, and who were coupled together in pairs. On coming up to me, one of the guard laid hold of me, and dragged me before the commander of the party, who, after looking at me some time attentively, took off a leathern strap which was fastened about his body, with which he bound my hands, and then ordered me to follow him. I was constrained to do so; and thus we proceeded over mountains and through valleys till the sun had nearly reached its meridian height; the armed men vociferously mirthful, whilst the prisoners seemed overwhelmed with dejection. About noon, we reached Eioyaha, where we stopped for some time, but had no other refreshment than water. This is a large

village, the first in the province of *Porguomat*, called in maps *Ofila*. Our escort were of this nation, and resided about half a day's journey more to the northward.

The country of *Porguomat* is situated at the distance of about four days journey from the borders of *Congo*. The soil is fertile, and its products various and abundant. It is inhabited by a warlike people, who are firm and spirited in the defence of their frontiers. I was told by some amongst them, that they are able to send eighteen or twenty thousand men into the field, but this I look upon as a vain boast; the one-half may be nearer the truth, for it is far from being thickly inhabited. This nation was formerly in subjection to the kings of *Benguela*, who drained them of all their best and bravest foldiers; these intrepidly bore all the fatigues of war, but were repaid with the basest ingratitude; in the first instance, by exactions on the country, when the slightest object made supplies necessary; and when they were unable to answer these, perhaps twenty and upwards of their number at a time would be sold to the dealers in slaves.

In the year 1776, the old king *Khiguan*, who then possessed the throne, attempted a repetition of this treatment; but the nation revolted, deprived him of his life, and rendered themselves in a manner independent. The son of the late king was, it is true, placed upon the throne, but with certain restrictions; the elders of the land are associated with him in the government, and he cannot upon any occasion act without their concurrence. Whilst the tyranny of the kings lasted, they fomented the quarrels which arose between their subjects, which they turned to their own accounts, by making a pretence of the misdemeanors that had been committed, to sell those who had been guilty of them as slaves; never paying any attention to the remonstrances of their relations, or even to those of the intire nation. Under the present government, disputes are accommodated by the oldest of the respective families,

families, and the guilty parties are punished publicly in the open air.

The inhabitants have many customs in common with the neighbouring nations, but along with those they practise others which are peculiar to themselves; some of which must raise them high in our estimation. The number of their women is comparatively few, so that each man has never more than one wife; and there have even been instances where one woman has been the joint property of two husbands, and yet no disagreement subsist between them. Females are held in much more esteem, and treated with a greater degree of tenderness, than amongst many of the other nations of Africa: the men attending equally to domestic arrangements, take upon themselves the care of the cattle, with many laborious offices; whilst the women dress the victuals, and prepare meal or grits from the fruit of the mahatora-tree already described.

In language and dress this nation bear a strong affinity to the inhabitants of the coast of Congo. Boys are circumcised the day after they are born, upon which occasion a festival is observed; male children being much more highly valued than female: I have seen mothers surrounded by a train of twelve, sometimes eighteen sons, which procures them an extraordinary degree of honour. I was very particularly pleased with the manner in which children are treated, and the kind of education they receive amongst this people. The instruction of a child commences as soon as he is able to speak, and is undertaken by his grandfather if he be still living; and if not, by his father, who commences his lessons by bringing him acquainted with the nature and properties of the different kinds of plants and fruits, pointing out such as are wholesome and good for food, and teaching him to distinguish those that are pernicious; his industry is also exercised by being early employed in weaving rush mats; and, as he grows older, to assist in the performance of domestic offices. So far girls are equally instructed with the boys; but the latter are particularly trained to hunting,

and incited to exertions of address and courage, and to acquire strength and agility by bodily exercise. He who kills an elephant is no longer numbered in the class of boys, but in that of the men.

Although all strangers entering their country from any other motives than those of traffic, are looked upon as slaves, yet they are treated with kindness, nor is any attempt made to sell them, the slave-trade being held in abhorrence by this people, who use every effort to rescue such as have been purchased by neighbouring nations, with a view of disposing of them again; and when they hear that any slave-dealers are conducting any of those unhappy victims through any part of their territories, or near their borders, bands are generally sent out to intercept them; the escorts are dispersed or destroyed, and the slaves becoming their property, instead of being treated as such, are admitted members of the nation. They shew equal kindness to prisoners of war, who, if they choose it, may also be incorporated as a part of their community.

From the village where we had first stopped, we proceeded directly to that of Soltaho, the residence of the king; where I was delivered up to this nominal sovereign, with many ceremonies. He received me kindly; gave immediate orders that my hands should be unloosed, and a piece of elephant's flesh roasted to be given me; I was then conducted to a hut to lodge in. The other prisoners were also treated with the utmost humanity by the inhabitants, amongst whose huts they were distributed.

As I was perfectly ignorant of the language, though I perceived I was sometimes the subject of conversation, I could form no guess as to what was to be my fate; but I felt no manner of uneasiness on that point, as I found a decided preference was shewn me over my fellow-prisoners: whilst they were employed in tilling the ground, hewing wood, and other laborious offices, I had no other task assigned me than assisting some of the natives to gather the mutahora, and afterwards to clean, dry, and bruise it.

After

After having resided here about a month, I observed that the inhabitants began to treat me with more coolness: this I soon learned proceeded from their having formed the conclusion that I must be Amambuhaya (Portuguese). I still, however, enjoyed my liberty, and the same flattering preference as at first; and when the matter came to be mentioned to me, I was assured, that though a Portuguese, I should be much better treated than their countrymen had been by mine. I took infinite pains, and at last succeeded in convincing the *huliha* (king) that I was not a Portuguese, but *achkekre* (oriental) and that my countrymen were even at enmity with Portugal. This produced every effect I could wish; I became a still greater favourite, and from this time slept in the king's own hut, and had a sheep-skin of a superior kind given me.

I employed my leisure time in little amusing occupations, which might at the same time be useful to the inhabitants. I made a sort of potter's wheel, and shewed them the European manner of making earthenware; as I observed that theirs worked by the hand cost the women great labour, and that the vessels thus formed were so brittle, that none of them lasted more than three or four days. I also constructed a small oven; and shewed them, that meat put in pans and baked in this, tasted much better than when roasted on the coals. These, with many similar good offices, procured me a considerable degree of respect amongst the natives. Yet notwithstanding this, I frequently suffered much from hunger; they are themselves most frugally temperate, and I fared no better than they. They never consumed above a quarter of a pound of meal or grits a day each person, with a quarter or at most half a pound of flesh-meat; and milk was by no means plentiful. Several months had now elapsed since I had taken up my residence amongst these people, when an occurrence of a remarkable nature transferred me to another nation, called Sovians*.

On

* Sova is a small kingdom, under the jurisdiction of the king of Angola.

On the 17th of June, 1785, two slaves arrived at the village of which I was become a resident; they had effected their escape from amongst a band of fellow-prisoners, who, under the escort of a strong body of Sovians, were on their way to Benguela, where they were to be sold: these refugees further reported, that on the 19th this troop, consisting of thirty slaves, with their guard, would pass near the frontiers of this country. In consequence of this information, preparations were immediately made for a force from the village to advance and intercept them, with a fixed determination to disperse the escort, or to take them prisoners, together with the band of slaves under their conduct. Expeditions of this kind were not at all uncommon with this nation; and I was informed, that even against the Angolans, though distant a journey of eight days, they were very frequent; and that they particularly exerted themselves to destroy their slave-trade, as well as that of the Sovians.

I had already accompanied many different parties, which had been sent out merely for the purpose of watching over the safety of the frontiers; but I now received orders to prepare for a hostile attack upon the enemy. Accordingly, on the evening of the 17th, a body, consisting of seventy-four men, began their march: one half of this number were armed with javelins, and a kind of spears which they use in hunting, the rest carrying battle-axes.

We marched the whole of the night in a north-east direction, without once stopping; clambering over mountains and traversing woods. In the morning we halted for a few hours on the summit of a steep eminence; and from thence proceeded to a village called Wakulaho, situated on its declivity, and which belonged to the nation of which I was now an auxiliary: twenty additional men here joined our party; and we recommenced our route still in the north-east line. In the evening we crossed a small river, on the further bank of which we reposed ourselves till night came on, when we again set forward. At sun-rise we came within sight of a village;
here

ere my companions determined to make a search, and endeavour to gain some intelligence as to the arrival of the expected band. My feet, and those of two others of the combatants, had been so wounded with our march that we were unable to proceed; we therefore received orders from our leader, who was named *Kydo-oh*, to remain in the place where we now rested, till they should return, after having gone through their intended inspection at the village. We were much rejoiced at this permission; and as soon as our friends were gone, stretched ourselves beneath an overshadowing rock, to wait their again joining us. Evening came, which was the time we had been taught to expect them; but no person yet appeared; we therefore moved to a situation nearer to the village, where we passed the whole night without any shelter, and without hearing any thing of our party; in the morning, therefore, we determined to enter the village itself in search of them, but here we found them not; neither could we gain the least intelligence whither they had gone: we still proceeded in our pursuit; and before we had got far, came to two roads, both of which being marked with fresh-trod footsteps, we were at a loss which to take; after consulting together on this exigence, we agreed to separate, which we accordingly did, one of my companions taking the north-east direction, whilst myself and the other went towards the west.

When we had walked about half a league, we lost all trace of any road; but proceeding in the same direction, we at length reached a village, through which our party must necessarily pass: here too we found our companion, from whom we had parted a few hours before. We requested shelter for the night from an old man, which he readily granted; we then retired to rest; but about midnight were roused by a violent noise and bustle which arose suddenly in the village. Thinking this might be occasioned by the arrival of our friends, we hastened out to shew ourselves to them; in this conjuncture, however, we were unfortunately mistaken; for
we

we found it was the enemy against whom we had come out with such hostile intentions, and who had gained intelligence of those intentions early enough to change the route, and thus arrived at this village without any manner of obstruction. They made us their prisoners; and carried off besides some young women of the village. With our new conductors we continued our progress through the whole of the following day; sometimes over steep mountains, at others through overshadowing woods.

Towards night, we stopped at a village called Brht ho, which was situated within the territory of the Savians. Here we prisoners were all brought before a *mani* (judge) by whom our supper was ordered, consisting of a kind of vetch, called medabahat, with some milk: the lodging assigned us for the night was wretchedly uncomfortable; sixty persons being crowded together into one hut: it could not be imagined that any one enjoyed the refreshment of sleep. In the morning, we were all bound in divisions of three together, and thus marched onwards. The roads were extremely rugged, and most of us had got our feet lacerated, and the wounds were so painful, as rendered us absolutely unable to proceed further. We halted then for the night in the open air; for though we found villages on every side, our leaders would not venture into any of them; for as they expected to be attacked they thought this would be a much more advantageous situation. Those villages which were now in view exhibited every appearance of poverty; few of them consisting of more than sixteen or twenty low, square ill-constructed huts, covered over with rushes.

Soon after midnight, we were again in motion. In the noon our course was pursued over sandy plains, which brought us at length to a small town. Here the *mani* ordered that we should be conducted to a hut, and our bands to be taken off; after which a little meal, made of peas, and some milk were given us. The feet of many of my fellow-prisoners were so much swelled, that to render them totally unable to walk: the soles of

own were very much blistered, and my legs torn in many places by thistles. Each of us used the means we thought the best to allay our pains, and effect a cure; and I could perceive that many of the natives viewed our sufferings with a high degree of commiseration.

The customs and manners of this nation are perfectly similar to those of the Angolans; whom they also resemble in their religion, dress, and mode of life: the language is the only point in which any degree of dissimilarity subsists; and even in that it is but very slight. The dialect of the Ossilians is also very much the same as these two, except that in the former the letters l. u. g. h. w. are never pronounced, and indeed seldom occur. I will here cite a few instances.

OSSILIAN WORDS.

As written.

As pronounced.

Engalo,

Enalo,

Wild boar.

Algagia,

Alaia,

Zebra-cat.

Pongo,

Pono,

Baboon.

Ouvanda,

Ovanda,

Rice.

Ogheghe,

Oie,

Plums.

The Sovians, on the contrary, give these letters a very full and harsh sound: Enggalo, Algaggia, Ponggo.

But to return to the slaves. On the 23d we were all assembled on a green space immediately contiguous to the town; where each were minutely examined, to discover whether they had any defects which might prevent their sale as slaves; a healing ointment was, at the same time, applied to the feet of such as were wounded. I was narrowly inspected in my turn; and the mani, in addition to this examination, demanded if I were a Christian: I answered no; that I was an Oriental. After this ceremony was over, thirty of the prisoners, who had been selected from the rest, and amongst whom were six women and two young girls, were sent to a separate hut; myself and the rest who remained, being conducted back to that we had occupied the preceding night.

On the third day after, both parties were ordered to Mahpangoh, all except a young Matamanian, uncommonly

commonly handsome in his person, and myself, whom the *mani* detained in his own service. I was employed as his shepherd: but the Matamanian being better acquainted with the country, was not trusted to roam thus at large, was appointed to cut wood or make mats, which kept him nearer home. My fellow shepherd was a native of Benguela, a voluntary slave, having sold himself to our master merely for his subsistence. The flock committed to our care, consisted of seventy sheep and twenty-seven goats: those we drove each day to different pasture grounds, to the distance of a league round the town; and in the evening brought them back to be penned in a hut appropriated for that purpose, and in which we slept ourselves. We every morning received a handful of millet-meal, and a pot of milk each, for our day's provision: but this was so far from being sufficient to satisfy our appetites, that we endeavoured to make out the means of doing so by privately milking the ewes and goats. My companion and I were on the most friendly terms.

The *mani* was himself a man of the kindest and most benevolent disposition; but he had six wives, who were on the contrary extreme, rude, ill-natured, and quarrelsome. Besides this, the fourth wife, who was called Natahar, when she came a-milking, took it in her head to make love to me; using every artifice to seduce me; but I feigned not to understand her advances. My companion, less wary and more complaisant, allowed himself to be led away by her allurements, which he took no pains to conceal from me, encouraging her passion even in my presence. When this infamous woman found that all her arts and schemes were ineffectual to gain me, her love was converted to the most rancorous hatred, and she seemed to be meditating the means of getting me out of the way, lest I should expose her conduct to her husband, of which the severest punishment would have been the consequence. She even mentioned to my fellow-slave, that she was resolved to get rid of me; this he immediately

immediately communicated to me, and advised me to be upon my guard. I was now rather alarmed, and began to deliberate on the measures best for me to pursue to escape her machinations. I knew that as an Oriental, for which I passed amongst them, she could not sell me for a slave; but then she might have me delivered to the Portuguese at the price of a large ransom, which I should probably be obliged to repay by many years of servitude and hard labour*: or I thought

* Had I been ransomed by the Portuguese, I must have served as a soldier for several years, to repay the sum thus advanced for me, and should besides have been exposed to the harshest treatment, had I refused to become a member of the Roman Catholic communion. It has been asserted, but totally without foundation, that the Portuguese, the English, and Dutch, often rescue unfortunate Europeans from slavery, in order to restore them to their respective native homes. It is no proof that persons have been slaves, though they shew crucifixes, names, or figures marked on the arms: these badges are easily attained, for any sailor on board any ship will make them for the reward of a glass of brandy or a piece of tobacco. The operation is performed by first binding the part to be so marked very tight; three or four pins or needles are then tied together, and with the points of these, small wounds are made through the skin in whatever figure is desired, and afterwards rubbed with gunpowder, which gives them a blueish cast. The names St. Jago, St. Helena, St. Clare, the Cape, &c. is often thus inserted. Several persons may remember different men, who some years since travelled about Saxony and other countries with a feigned account of their having been slaves in Africa, where, to distinguish them, they said they were marked with figures of this description. Two of these I recollect myself; one a chimney-sweeper from Silesia, named Weishaapt, the other a journeyman baker of Saxony. These persons might possibly have been in slavery, but that only at the Cape or elsewhere on board the galleys, as a punishment for some misdemeanors. At the expiration of their limited term of punishment in this way at the Cape, each person receives twenty gilders for his journey, and is sent to Holland.

An equally hard fate would have awaited me, had I been ransomed by a merchant on the coast, for him I must also have repaid with several years of servitude; perhaps employed in hard labour. Many Europeans are at this moment languishing in slavery, who, shipwrecked on the coasts of Africa, have fallen

thought it not impossible her revenge might even carry her so far as to poison me. To avoid the latter fate I every day exchanged the portion of provision I received for that of my companion; but in order to get wholly free from her persecutions, I decided upon flight as the surest means.

As I had the fullest confidence in my fellow-shepherd, I imparted my design to him; when, with the utmost readiness, he promised me his best offices towards its execution. I wished to persuade him to be my companion in the enterprize, but he had not exertion to encounter the difficulties, nor courage to brave the dangers attendant on it. I now began to prepare by degrees for my departure: I gathered various kinds of fruits, which I dried in the sun; particularly *kikery* and *guayafas*; the former a species of plum, the latter resembling pears, only that the pulp is red. I fixed the next full moon for the period of my escape, at which the inhabitants, instead of pursuing the chase, stay at home to celebrate a festival; so that there would be no danger of straggling parties to intercept my flight.

The important day, which happened to be the 12th of October, at length arrived. In the morning, as had been concerted between us, we drove our flocks to the northward of the town, as I had for some time been accumulating the provisions for my journey beneath the shelter of a wood in that direction. As soon as the women had done milking, and were re-

turned

fallen into the hands of the natives, and been by them given up for ransom, or rather *sold*, as it may be called, to the European factories, where they are in truth placed upon a level with their slaves; nor are ever restored to liberty, before they have repaid their ransoms by the hardest labour. The English boast much of the large sums they pay for the redemption of unfortunate captives; but this is only to transport to their colonies, and thus rob them of the promised joy of visiting their native land. Thus also act the Dutch. Many of these unfortunate beings have been thus carried to their colonies and islands.

turned to the village, I caught up my deposit, and took leave of my companion.

I ran with my fleetest speed through the wood; nor did I slacken my pace when beyond its limits; till after about two hours travelling, I came to a chain of mountains stretching from north to south. I now believed I was beyond the danger of pursuit, therefore ventured to sit down at the foot of one of the mountains, and regale on some of my dried fruit. I had learned the geography of the country, and knew I had only three villages to pass before I should reach the frontiers of Angola, which is at the distance of about four days journey from where I now was. As I was eating my meal, and resting myself, I happened to turn my eyes towards the west, when I saw three lions advancing majestically towards me. None of this species of animals had ever yet attempted to annoy me, it is true; yet I now thought it most prudent to secure my safety by flight; I therefore ran part of the way up the mountains: on my stopping, and again looking about, I perceived they had gone on towards the eastward, without taking any further notice of me.

In my progress this day I saw great variety of fruits; but as I had a sufficient stock to last me for some time, and did not know that some of these might not be of a noxious nature, I did not pluck any of them. I found some tortoises, however, and finding some brushwood in the recesses of the rocks, lighted a fire, and roasted them; made a hearty supper; and afterwards enjoyed uninterrupted repose during the whole of the night.

On the following morning I resumed my journey, and before mid-day reached a valley uncommonly broad, and watered by a small river which wound its way through it. I rested myself for some hours on the banks of this stream; and took from my waistcoat three gilders, that I might have them ready in case of any emergency. I saw some villages in the distant view, but these I avoided as much as I could; my
fruit

fruit being not yet near exhausted, nor had I hitherto found any scarcity of water.

Early in the evening I came near another village which I would also have wished to pass unobserved, but I had already been descried by several people, who hastening to meet me, pressed me to enter it; I therefore accompanied them; and on my first arrival, asked for a little meal, which was immediately brought me. I then enquired for the *mani*, when the one to whom I addressed myself answered that he was the person. I then entreated his hospitality, to which he replied "that you have already experienced." Upon this I desired permission to stay that night in the village: "you are not a Christian you say," returned he. "I am an Arab," said I: "wherefore are you come hither? I suppose to steal our slaves." "That I shall not; I only wish for leave to travel through this to my native country." "How far is that from hence?" "I must travel four moons longer towards the east." "you are not a Christian," repeated he, you shall sleep in my hut unmolested by any person; in the meantime, sit down here." I then seated myself opposite to the hut door: for some time the *mani* viewed me with fixed attention, and at length demanded where and by what means I had acquired the language of the country. I replied, that I had resided for three months with a king of one of the nations, from whom I had met with the kindest treatment.

I was here an object of much curiosity; till midnight the inhabitants in succession came to visit me; putting various questions to me; and some of them stroking my skin with their hands; but there was nothing that could offend me in their behaviour; and I slept afterwards undisturbed in the further extremity of the hut. In the morning, when setting off, I received some meat from the *mani*, who also advised me to steer my course to the eastward; as in the northern direction I should be obliged to pass through an extensive forest, much infested by bands of wandering Angolans, by whom I should

ould run the risk of being seized, and in that case certainly ill-treated. I steadily adhered to my original plan however, notwithstanding this suggestion, continuing my route directly north; and having passed very far another Sovian village, soon entered the forest, which is half a day's journey over, and stretches something in the form of a crescent from north-east to south-west: it is intersected by a small river, which forms the boundary between the territory of the Sovians and the kingdom of Angola. It was evening when I reached this river, nearly exhausted with fatigue and thirst; I refreshed myself therefore with some of its excellent water, and stretching myself on the bank, rested my weary limbs, and determining to go no further that night, enjoyed the most comfortable repose.

On the morning of the 15th, I emerged from the wood into a charming plain, where the grass was of an extraordinary height and luxuriance. Towards noon, as I approached a smaller wood, I met ten men of the nation of Matamba, who, I found, were dealers in slaves. They accosted me with much civility, and asked me some questions, which, from what I could comprehend of them, seemed to relate to the object of my journey. I answered them as well as I could, and perceived they understood me, for they ceased to interrogate me, and endeavoured to persuade me to join their party. I excused myself, as they were going to the westward, whereas my way lay to the north. They then presented me with some meal, and we parted just before the village of Galitz, which is the first belonging to the kingdom of Angola, that presents itself to the traveller by the route I pursued, and is very populous.

On entering it, I immediately enquired for the habitation of the *mani*, that I might put myself under his protection. He received me with a kind of surly roughness, and was about to dismiss me without any offer towards hospitality, but on my producing three gingers for his acceptance, he became more courteous, gave me some milk and meal; to which he added some

dried pears; and shewed me to a hut to sleep in, which however, was only that appropriated to his sheep and goats.

The kingdom of Angola is fourteen days journey in extent from east to west, and ten from north to south. The face of the country is finely diversified with steep mountains and fertile valleys, barren rocks, and the richest pasture grounds: whilst the soil in many parts teeming with spontaneous abundance, seems to afford only for the hand of industry; in others, to bless the inhabitants not merely with competence but superfluity, but, too indolent to turn to advantage the gifts held out to them by bounteous nature, they use no exertions, seldom looking beyond the sustenance of the present day. Many considerable streams flow in different directions through this country, but its principal river is the Bambo, which is of great extent; it forms the boundary towards the north which divides this kingdom from that of Congo; and branching out into numerous arms, it waters and fertilizes large tracts of country on either side. Angola to the east borders on the kingdom of Matamba, to the south on Benguela and Sova, and on the west it is washed by the sea.

The chief products of the country are salt-petre, silver, and tin: ivory is also an article in which it greatly abounds; together with the skins of the elephants and various wild beasts; all of which the Portuguese are at great pains to obtain from the natives in exchange for European commodities. Wild animals of every description are in such plenty in every part, as to favour the natural indolence of the inhabitants, who from this cause, neglect even the breeding of cattle and subsist chiefly on what they occasionally kill in hunting. The elephant and rhinoceros, in particular, are to be seen in numerous herds, wandering at large as if perfectly at home.

The kings of Angola had for a long period of time been held in vassalage by those of Congo; but the present sovereign, asserting his independence, has thrown off the yoke, and by that means endeared himself to his

his subjects, who look up to him with respect and esteem, and are ever ready to defend him; even women and children taking the field when war is declared against him. His usual train consists of twenty-four *manis*, fifty priests, and a guard of two hundred and fifty soldiers, who carry muskets, which they use with great expertness, and which they obtained in an attack on a body of Portuguese in 1763. There are two *manis* appointed to the superintendence of every larger town; the villages have but one each; none of these, however, can pass judgment in any cause; the proceedings must all be laid before the king, who is alone empowered to decide. At the time of my visiting the country, this monarch was about thirty-six years old; his dress was a pair of blue pantaloons, with a red cloak made of an inferior kind of cloth. He is an enemy to the Portuguese, and through their means all Christians are comprehended in this enmity: from this cause he throws every impediment he can in their way, to prevent their traffic with his subjects; and seems only to wait the favourable moment, to put an entire stop to their entrance into his dominions.

The military force of the kingdom consists of fifty thousand foot, very well disciplined; they have no cavalry, owing to the scarcity of horses; the great number of wild beasts preventing their increase. Buffaloes are made use of to transport the baggage when the army is on its march. The king generally gives audience in the open air, surrounded by his body guard; the officers with their swords drawn. These last he styles *fidalgos* *, and the guard itself *mocarani* (choicest soldiers) though never employed in the field. The priests are called *coango*, and are next in rank to the king; the *tombocado* (chief judges) are the next in precedence: before these the *mani* are obliged to lay their reports of causes, to be investigated previous to their being carried to the king for his final determination;

* A Portuguese term signifying noblemen.

tion; the priests, those are generally employed to present them to him.

The Angolans cannot be called idolators, though the sun and moon are the chief objects of their worship; every change of the latter is celebrated as a festival, at which time no hunting parties take place. Whenever thunder-storms arise, penitential observances are enjoined, for then they believe the great Lord is incensed. Upon these occasions they abstain from all kinds of food; and quitting their huts, particularly if the storm happen in the night, they prostrate themselves with their faces to the earth during the whole of its continuance; when quite over, their expiatory self-denials commence. The conclusion of their harvest is celebrated by feasts and rejoicings, which last for three days. Although they have no knowledge of the true God, yet circumcision, with its attendant religious rites, is practised amongst them. Divine worship is also publicly performed in huts appropriated for that purpose, and on days set apart by their priests.

The regulation of their domestic economy is very simple: they are very sparing in their diet, though nature has so amply supplied them with beasts of the chase, and with abundance and variety of fruits. In a very few places is agriculture practised; where it is, Indian corn, barley, and a species of millet are the grains sown: their gourds and water-melons are of the finest kind. Muscles are a favourite food; and they will sometimes go miles in search of them.

Marriages are here solemnized with many ceremonies; the couple to be united seat themselves on the ground, and a priest blesses them with certain mystic forms, which none understand; he then walks several times round them with a staff, for the purpose of driving away the evil spirit; after which, a fire being kindled by both families, the staff is burnt to ashes, and in that state mixed with milk, which the priest blesses, and then delivers to the bride and bridegroom, who swallow it. This is supposed to favour fecundity, and avert evil. Polygamy is sanctioned by the laws, and
is

is very customary; divorces are forbidden; but women are frequently compelled by bad treatment to quit their husbands.

Great care is bestowed by this people on the education of children; they are instructed by the priests in reading, writing, and in the knowledge of the laws and religion of their country. By way of paper they use the skins of certain animals, which they cover over with soot mixed with grease; in this the letters are indented with sharp-pointed bones, which they employ as pens. Scholars are instructed in the open air; and I observed amongst the children a much greater degree of attention than is generally to be seen in our German schools. Every boy is looked upon as belonging to the king; and, as they grow up, he has them trained to the use of arms. On yielding them up fathers receive a recompense; for example, a year's subsistence is allowed in return for each grown-up son thus furnished. To provide for this heavy expense, a third of the produce arising from the chase, from the harvest, from spoils taken in war, and in short from every kind of gain, is allowed to the king.

There is no fixed mode of dress amongst the Angolans. Some wear nothing more than aprons made of palm-leaves; to these others add cloaks made of an ordinary kind of ash-coloured cloth, purchased from the Portuguese, and many of them have the skins of beasts thrown across their backs. Their hair is of the short curly kind, and they wear ornaments of various kinds through it, sometimes muscle-shells, rosaries, or other trinkets furnished them by the Portuguese. They daub their cheeks with a kind of paint, some red, others blue. Their nails are never cut, and those who wish to set themselves off to the best advantage, preserve them carefully from being broken; so that their fingers bear a strong resemblance to the talons of an eagle.

Towards the natives of all the African territories the Angolans are extremely hospitable; but the name of Christian is sufficient to debar him who bears it

even from a night's lodging amongst them; nor do they willingly permit any such to advance into the country. As a preventive to their doing so, they send the commodities they wish to have exchanged with the Portuguese down to the sea-coasts on the backs of buffaloes, and in like manner transport the European goods thus obtained to the habitations of the purchasers. Twice in every year the Portuguese factories established at Lounda and Gambaba are obliged to send a deputation to the king to deprecate his resentment, which they so frequently incur by the practice of kidnapping his subjects, for the purpose of making slaves of them. Should an alliance be formed between this prince and the king of Mataman, as has been projected, it is more than probable the same treatment awaits the Portuguese here, as they formerly experienced at Japan.

On the 16th I mentioned to the *mani* my intention of resuming my journey; to this he refused his assent, as he said I must first obtain the king's permission to travel through his territories. I persisted in my resolution, however, declaring I would not turn back, and of course must of necessity pass through the country. Finding me thus peremptory he allowed me to depart, escorted by four men, with orders to them, as I soon afterwards learned, to conduct me to the royal residence, that the king might have an opportunity of judging himself whether it was proper to allow me to proceed.

The day following we arrived at Maspa *, where we understood the king was come to review his troops, which were encamped in its neighbourhood. I was immediately carried before *a coanga*, from whom I met with a most unpleasant reception. Concluding at once that I was a Portuguese spy, he gave orders that I should be bound with thongs: in vain I remonstrated, and assured him he was mistaken; he still persisted, and even told me that I should be punished with the utmost severity;

* This is a handsome village, and the country around it very charming. It is a day's journey from Mapata; and at a camp near it the king passes two months each year.

severity; and that my seeing the king would avail me nothing: then, turning to those who had conducted me thither, he commanded them to strip off my waistcoat, lest some death-dealing weapon, or poisonous drug should be concealed beneath it for the purpose of destroying the king. To my infinite sorrow and indignation this was instantly performed; and thus was I deprived of the repository not only of my money, but of the pocket-book in which were all my papers that I had concealed in a private pocket. The waistcoat was soon torn to pieces, and those who had despoiled me of it leaped for joy on seeing the silver coins drop out of it. I raved, exclaimed in the loudest terms, and endeavoured to tear the bands, by which my hands were confined, with my teeth, that I might regain my property; but I was assailed with so many blows from the broad iron javelins of the pillagers, that my spirits were quite overcome. I was then seized and dragged into a ruinous hut, where my feet were fastened to one of the corner posts, and neither food or drink was given me. I asked one of my guards whether I was to be left to starve there; upon which I was rudely answered that I might eat *kehla* (dirt). There was I left, ready to expire with hunger and thirst; nor was I released, even for the necessary calls of nature, during the whole night, which made my wretched bed still more intolerable.

In the morning my guards were relieved, and I then received a small handful of millet, with about a pint of water; and this pittance was the whole of my allowance for that day. From one of the guards placed over me, on the following day, I learned that the *coanga* had determined to have me privately put to death, without letting the king know any thing of me; and that it was very probable I should suffer * that very day. I was
struck

* The following is their manner of executing criminals: The miserable sufferer is first extended at his full length upon the earth, as if he were about to be broken on the wheel, long poles being fixed between his arms and legs: his feet and hands are
thus

struck with dismay, and no less astonished at this intelligence, as I knew that the king was at the camp, and had conceived some hopes from being brought before him, even with the accusation of being a spy. On reflecting further, however, it occurred to me that the *coanga* had formed this design for the purpose of appropriating my little treasure to himself; for had he brought me before the king, to be judged by him, he must, of course, have delivered every thing that was found on me into his hands. I communicated this surmise to my guards, and demanded whether they thought the king would approve of this proceeding. They answered, that it was perfectly well known that I was a spy, and had come with a design to assassinate their king; that the priests themselves had declared it to be so, and they never uttered falsehoods. Shocked and confounded with the horrors of my situation, how did I repent the rash step I had taken in quitting the Cape! how regret that I had not accepted the invitation of the hospitable Caffres, and spent the remainder of my days with that kind and friendly race! Overcome with anguish, all my powers had nearly forsaken me, when I saw my guards prostrate themselves before the door of the hut, with marks of the most profound respect. As they had been talking earnestly about the king some time before, and I heard one of them say he was to pass by, I concluded he was now coming, and entreated I might have leave to go to the door to see him; to this I was only answered by blows; therefore resolved to exert myself, and called out with my utmost force, *ekomah, ekomah!* (help help!) One of my guards now gave me a most violent stroke, ordering me at the same time to be silent; but, determined to run every risk, I again vociferated *harahky,*

then fastened to the ground by a long spear thrust through each, and he is left in this state of torture, in which many unhappy wretches languish for five or six days, birds of prey in the meantime devouring their flesh. When a milder punishment is decreed, a javelin is struck through the body a few hours after it has been extended and racked as I have described.

harshly! (mercy, mercy!) The king, who was actually near, now heard me; and, coming to the hut door, demanded what was the matter. One of my guards undertook to give him an account of the business; and I heard, as well as I could understand the language, the words spy, murder, death, often repeated. His representation awakened a desire in the king to hear me himself, and he ordered that I should be brought before him; adding, that he would pierce my heart with his own hand if he found me guilty of the charge. My feet were accordingly now unbound, and I was summoned on the outside of the hut; but I was so cut with the ligatures, and so exhausted by the series of bad treatment I had received, that I was not able to move; I was therefore dragged forth, and thrown prostrate to the earth, at the feet of the king.

He then desired a priest, who acted as interpreter, to demand of me what motive had induced me to come into his country with the design of murdering him. I answered, that I had never had such an intention; that I was a shipwrecked mariner, who only wished to travel through his dominions to my native country. "What is the name of your country?" was the next question. "Arabia," I replied. "But you are a Christian; and you want to discover the state of my country, and to make slaves of such of my subjects as you can draw away with you;" was again urged to me. "No," I returned; "neither of these designs have I formed: it is some days since I informed your *mani* at Abkimy, that I wished to apply for your permission to travel onwards through this to my native land; accordingly he had me escorted hither, that I might myself make my suit known to so gracious and humane a prince." "The *mani* was wrong," said the king, through his interpreter; "he should immediately have sent you back the way you came; as I never suffer Christians to enter my dominions." "It had been happy for me if he had," rejoined I; "for then I should have escaped being pillaged and barbarously treated by your subjects." These words irritated him

to such a degree, that, springing forward, he seized me by the arm, exclaiming, "Christian dog! what is it thou darest to assert? Stand up and prove thy allegation." "Had not your barbarian delegates treated me like a brute," retorted I with firmness, "I should have been able to stand up; and should not thus long have remained groveling before you. But I trust in Him, who is far above you; in Him, who will avenge my cause by inflicting exemplary punishment on you and those vile agents to whom you have delegated your power. You will shut your eyes to the truth; you believe not that I have been robbed; and will, by my death, bring an everlasting stain on your own honour." "I charge thee," exclaimed the king, with vehemence, "say where, when, and by whom thou hast been robbed." "You will give no credit to my words," replied I; "and if the robbers deny what they have done, you will believe them: but should you even spare my life, still I run the risk of being murdered to gratify their revenge." This speech raised his rage to the highest pitch; he spurned me with his feet, crying at the same time, "Speak dog! speak, I tell thee, or I will trample thee to death." "Deprive me of my life, if you find I have deceived you," replied I; "but listen first to what I have to say in my justification." I then gave him an account of the manner in which I had been treated by the *coanga*; and concluded by informing him of his intention to have me secretly executed. He heard me with attention, and seemed much struck with what I had said: at length, after some minutes reflection, he gave orders that I should be conveyed to the entrance of his own hut; where, on my arrival, two wolf-skins were given me for a covering, and some elephant's flesh to eat. I learned shortly after, that the priest had taken the greatest pains to persuade the king that I was a madman, who would certainly make an attempt on his majesty's life; and that he would act wisely in ordering me to be put to death: but to this the king answered, "He is guarded, and therefore cannot come at me; and

and I have not yet seen any proofs of his being a madman."

On the morrow the king came to visit me, and gave orders that a healing ointment should be applied to my feet, composed of herbs mixed with grease. He then told me he had commanded that the four guards should be arrested who had torn my waistcoat from my body, that he might himself examine them. They were accordingly brought in, bound, whilst he was yet speaking to me; and he ordered that they should be confined in the shed where his cattle were kept till he should call for them. The following morning the king had them brought before him, and interrogated them in my presence. He demanded whether they had robbed me of any of my property. No, they answered; but, by the order of the *coanga*, they had taken from me my waistcoat, in which were several pieces of money, and another article, which they were not able to describe; all which they had delivered to him. Upon this the king sent instantly for the priest, and, on his entrance, addressed him thus: "You should be just, yet you are unjust; you ought to deprecate the wrath of the gods; but you yourself call down their indignation, by robbing and treating with cruelty an unoffending stranger! Hence! upon you shall be inflicted the punishment which you designed for this innocent man." The culprit was then bound in his turn, and carried to the shed where the guard had been confined; where, being stripped of his clothes, the king confirmed the sentence of death which he had already passed upon him. My money and pocket-book were now produced; and from the papers contained in the letter, at the king's desire, I read to him the names of those nations, towns, and villages through which I had passed in the course of my travels. This was a corroborating proof of my innocence, and raised me still higher in the royal favour. I was set at full liberty; my money and pocket-book were restored to me, as my rightful property; and I received every mark of attention and kindness. To evince my gratitude in some degree, I

presented the king with twenty gilders; these he received with condescension; but gave me in return a wedge of gold of infinitely greater value.

The day which had been appointed for the *coanga* and the four guards to suffer being come, I received orders to attend the execution, and to place myself near the king. The prisoners were then brought from their place of confinement to that of execution; when the *coanga*, perceiving me, approached, and begged my pardon; he would have added something more, but the king ordered he should be immediately carried away, and the sentence executed. The criminals were accordingly seized by different persons, and quickly deprived of their existence. The bodies were then cut in pieces, and, at sun-set, burnt to ashes.

From this time the king kept me constantly near his person, and within about three weeks after I joined a military force in an expedition against the Benguelans. We returned crowned with success; and bringing home with us one hundred and sixty-three prisoners. Amongst these were forty Kamahyrians, a wild and savage nation, who dwell in a district to the southward of the kingdom of Benguela.

In my hours of leisure I undertook to clean and repair the fire-arms of the soldiers: this was a business of which they were so totally ignorant, that those present stared with astonishment when they saw me take off the locks, in order to set them to rights. There are some of the moors* who understand a little of the gun-smith business, and who occasionally visit this country, and then they mend or new-model such as are out of repair, or unfit for use: but for eight years previous

* In travelling through the desert of Sahara, I afterwards encountered some of these itinerant gun-smiths, who were natives of Abyssinia. They generally travel from place to place for six months in the year, during which time they acquire subsistence for the other six, when they live at home. They sometimes manufacture new arms; but of this I shall say more in a later period of my journey.

previous to this period none of these had visited them.

My usefulness in this way procured me a still higher degree of the king's favour; and I was no less a favourite with all the principal persons of his court. They wished to give me some military appointment; but I declined it, and begged permission to proceed on my travels. This I did not immediately obtain; the king expressing a wish that, before my departure, I should accompany him to the town of his chief residence. It is called Mahakah, and has every appearance of a mountain fortress. It is situated on a steep rock which overhangs the river Coanza; on the opposite bank of which stands the village of Mapango. This latter place was nearly destroyed by the Portuguese in the year 1779; but it has since been rebuilt, enlarged and beautified, and may at present be considered as a town rather than a village, containing no less than four hundred huts.

The castle of Mahakah, the residence of the king, stands very well secured from hostile attacks. The Portuguese have repeatedly laid siege to it, but have as constantly been obliged to forego the attempt and retire from before it, never without considerable loss. It is inaccessible, except by one narrow winding path, over which hang large rocky fragments ready to be hurled on the heads of the enemy who shall dare to approach it. I saw many of these tremendous fragments lying ready to be thus employed, some fifteen, others twenty ells in length. At the entrance of the narrow path I have mentioned are four rows of strong palisades stuck into the earth, and secured in the rear with large pieces of rock. The castle itself is very ill built, and only one story in height. In the center of the court a fountain rises, which fills a surrounding moat four feet in breadth, and of an equal depth. In some detached buildings of the castle the king's guard is lodged; a temple occupies the middle space; and near it are apartments for the king's wives, eight in number. According to the desire of that
15. prince,

prince, I attended him thither, and spent six days, during which time I was shewn every mark of distinction. At the conclusion of that period I renewed my petition to proceed through his dominions, which was granted, with permission to go whithersoever I pleased. I therefore took my leave on the 26th day of February, 1786; and departed, bearing with me the kindest wishes of the king, and of the principal persons of the kingdom.

C H A P. VIII.

The author is dismissed, with presents from the king, who orders two guides to attend him.—Proceeds northward by the village of Muhag and the little town of Methekaba.—Description and history of the Azahorians, of the villages Mahiny and Envohat, with an account of the copra-serpent, common there.—Reaches the village Mohakam, on the confines of the former kingdom of Loango.—Its geographical situation and history.—Present state of the country, its produce, inhabitants, and trade.—Passage over the river Bambo to the village Vodolaha, inhabited by robbers, and to another village called Ogho.—On the passage across the ferry the author forms an acquaintance with a miner carrying ore to Molemba, with whom he travels a day and a half, and reaches that city.—Description and history of Molemba.—The author here undergoes a strict examination, and is afterwards brought before the king, who orders him clothes, appoints him to attend his buffaloes, and afterwards to be page to his person.—Falls into disgrace, and is condemned to slavery; but contrives to effect his escape, and goes over to the Yaganese.

ON my departure, the king ordered me to be supplied with a new calepach, (a water-flask for travellers) a bag of meal, and meat sufficient for four days, presenting to me himself three hundred zempos, or shells, which is their money; and, in order to render my journey as easy as possible, four active lads were directed to accompany me for the first two days, and afford me every assistance. Scarcely had we reached the first mile, when I discovered that, instead of eastward, as I intended, we were travelling directly south; this my conductors told me was the express order of the king, least, as he suspected, I should be led to visit the Portuguese factories; it now appeared to

me that he had always entertained this idea, and that he had some motive for wishing to divide us. Opposition would have been vain; so I resolved quietly to follow my conductors. We passed a small river, and arrived at the fertile plain of Muhag, on which is a village containing about six hundred persons. I saw but few of the men, they being mostly employed, as I was told, in the silver mines, which are at the distance of about a league and a half to the eastward. I solicited my guides to go thither, but they again urged the king's commands; so that here I was obliged to stop and take my dinner, leaving my curiosity ungratified. The judge having been told that I was a friend, supplied us with plenty of meal, dried fish, and milk, and invited us to pass some time with him; but we declined his solicitations, again set forward, and in the evening reached Methekaba, a small town near the rock called Matris. The inhabitants of this place have not many cattle, the country around being overrun with tigers and wolves, who are always on the watch for prey. They grow millet, barley, gourds, melons, and other fruits, and even some Indian corn. On walking round the town, I was surprized to meet with two smith's shops and two potteries. Their trade in the latter wares is considerable: the articles are very neatly made, and appear to be very durable. After waiting on the judge, and begging his protection, we were sent to the *evanga*, who detained me with him, and provided separate huts for my guides. My supper consisted only of a small handful of meal mixed with a little milk, and some water; my lodging was a goat's hovel, the door of which was secured by my host with a wooden cross*.

What with stench and heat I did not get much sleep; so that my guides found me in the morning nearly fainting

* To prevent the wolves and tigers from entering, long sharp thorns are fixed to these crosses, which give them the appearance of a *chevaux-de-frise*.

ainting from fatigue. On hearing my complaints they loaded the *evanga* with reproaches, and so terrified him, by threatening to expose his conduct to the king, that he instantly gave us plenty of milk, meal, and dried fish, insisting that we should take with us what remained; and at the same time begging my guides to come to him on their return and accept of his friendship. Our way lay over a mountain to the north-east, which formed a triangle; here we saw many wild fruit-trees. About mid-day we fell in with a party of the Azahorians, a band of robbers who infest the mountains, existing chiefly on fruit and the roots of the earth. Different to my expectation, we met with no ill treatment from these people; but, on the contrary, we divided provisions with each other, and they insisted, in the most friendly manner, on our sitting down and resting with them. After this we pursued our journey; when my guides informed me that the Azahorians pass a wandering life in the mountains, living night and day in the open air. Their number, which is still increasing, consists now of between seven and eight hundred; and will, most probably, at some future period, strike terror into the surrounding nations. They are said to be descended from a numerous tribe, formerly of the city of Zohora, in the territory of Jaga. In 1623 King Manimugy attacked and took possession of Jaga, at the same time demanding the surrender of Zohara; this was refused, and he was opposed by a small party, which he again defeated, followed them into the town, set fire to it, and put the inhabitants to death. The few who escaped implored the protection of the king of Angola, who received them with kindness. These, in war time, form a band by themselves, and their enterprizes are generally successful; but, at the return of peace, they are required to deliver back their arms to those whom they protect. Their persons, which are large and strong, are ornamented with small bones, and their complexions are more of the red than brown, with their hair quite close to the head. They are heathens. The oldest

oldest man is judge and priest, deciding on all small offences; but the most criminal receive their condemnation from the king himself, who decides according to established laws. The hair of the women is remarkable for its naturally differing so much from that of the men, it being very long and beautiful: this difference is seen at the earliest period of their existence. We passed several other bands of Azahorians, and in the evening reached a small village called Kamoh, which is delightfully situated at the foot of a mountain, with the river Molo running round it to the north-east. Here I observed that the fields were well cultivated. We lodged for the night with the judge, who supplied us with the best provisions that could be procured. On the following morning my guides left me; but the judge, finding me to be a friend of the king's, furnished me with a conductor to Mahiny. It was with the greatest difficulty we could now make our way, as our track lay through a very disagreeable road: we were frequently obliged to go much out of our direct road in order to avoid the thickets, which are in many places impassable. My guide was now much alarmed at the swarms of serpents and insects, but more so at some young lions, who followed us nearly the distance of a league; I, however, remained perfectly calm. The vallies that we passed were quite desolate, nor could we find any water proper to be drank. Late in the evening we came to a miserable village called Hatagna, consisting of from sixteen to twenty huts: here I wished to rest for the night, but my guide prevented me; his orders being to conduct me to Mahiny in the course of that day: so that I was again obliged to take up my staff and walk another league. When we arrived at Mahiny, we learned that the judge had retired to rest; but my guide went and waked him to deliver the king's orders, which were that I should be hospitably received. The judge, angry at being thus disturbed, threw me a mat, and promised to send some milk and meal; the latter articles I did not want, as I immediately laid myself down, and went

went to sleep. In the morning I found that the guide had left me, agreeably to his orders. The judge was now much more attentive. He saw how much my complexion differed from the natives, yet observed that I was not unacquainted with their language: he begged me to stay the day with him, and gave me such proofs of his good temper and friendship that I accepted his offer freely. After some conversation, we feasted sumptuously on the flesh of an elephant, which was dressed with mitabah *, milk, and oghitebonetahs; the milk not only makes the flesh tender, but also gives it an excellent flavour.

I again set forward, on the 3d of June, conducted by one of the judge's slaves, and, after a walk of about half a day, arrived at the nearest village, which is called Envoahat: our way lay to the north-east, but my conductor chose a path full east, in order to shew me two lofty and barren mountains, between which he pointed to Nunquiata, or the serpents' cave, which is inhabited by incredible numbers of these reptiles, who spread round the whole country in search of food. At some distance from this spot, and about half a league from the village, stood two men whom he called guards, stationed there by the villagers, for the purpose of destroying these horrid creatures as they issue from the hole. I was told, soon after, the method usually adopted in surprising and killing them; which is an active contrivance, by which they cut off the tail, which contains the venom; the other parts are then roasted over a coal fire, and eaten as the most delicate dish. I saw some of them that had been killed when I entered the village; the inhabitants call them *copra*, which is taken, I imagine, from the Portuguese word *cobra*: they are of great length, and must weigh, I should think, from twenty to thirty pounds. The head is round, but a little flat at the top; the body is an ash-grey

* A sort of pea, from fifty to a hundred of which grow on one long thin stalk: properly they are not peas, not growing in pods, but rather like grain.

grey colour, with stripes of green running round it, about a quarter of an inch in width: I met with some of the same species, though not quite so large, in the kingdom of Bahara. The village of Envohat, which is extremely fertile, contains about thirty huts, and is situated in the kingdom of Angola, about half a day's journey from the frontiers. To the north are several small hills, and to the south is a river, which I take to be a branch of the Bambo. Here my guide expressed a wish to return; but, with some persuasion, I prevailed on him to accompany me still further on. Having rested here about two hours, we continued our journey, which lay through a fine wood, plentifully stocked with fruit. At length we reached the frontiers; here my conductor left me, heartily wishing me a good journey, and returned to his home. I travelled about three miles farther to the extremity of the wood, where I passed the night. On the 5th of June I arrived at a narrow pass, and soon after reached the village Mohakam, formerly a frontier town of the kingdom of Loango*. Had I not met with a good-tempered old woman, who was collecting fire-wood hard by, I should have missed this village, which is nearly hidden by the surrounding hills. On conducting me to it she presented some milk to me, and then led me to the judge, who appeared an intelligent young man. He interrogated me relative to the object of my journey, at the same time ordering both meal and milk for my repast, which was brought in a large tortoise-shell.

He

* The space of land which formerly constituted this kingdom is fifty-six German miles in length, running from west to east, and fifty miles in width from south to north. It is situated between Guinea and the entrance of the river Zaine, to the north-east. In 1778 the king was defeated by the Portuguese, assisted by Seanakuly king of Carongo, and was murdered soon after the battle by his own subjects. The inhabitants, who are now free, pay a trifling tribute to the king of Cacongo, which is repaid to them by the Portuguese, in return for the enjoyment of an open trade with the whole kingdom of Loango. The judges are chosen by the people from amongst the elders, and the most implicit obedience is always shewn to their decisions.

He then endeavoured to convince me of the impossibility of my passing through the wild and savage country that surrounded me on all sides, without the imminent danger of my life; and concluded by trying to persuade me either to remain with him, or to return to the place from whence I came. His remonstrances were, however, vain. I inquired every particular respecting the roads, but most minutely of that which led to the city of Molemba, what had been described to me by my former conductor as open and well made. In reply, he told me, it would be impossible to find my way without a guide; adding, that, for the sum of thirty zempos a day, he could easily procure me one: to this I consented; when he selected from a crowd, which curiosity had collected to gaze at me, a stout fellow, of a savage aspect, whose very looks so alarmed me, that I could not be convinced of safety under his guidance. The judge, who had observed my fears, assured me of the man's fidelity; and spoke of his knowledge of the country, and of his courage in case of danger. A good bed had been prepared for me by the judge, who also provided me with plenty of milk, meal, and tortoise-flesh, so that I could not hesitate passing the night with him. In the morning I paid my guide the thirty zempos, which, as this money is very heavy, eased me of some weight. As I had now reached the nation which had been described to me as the most savage, it will be required that I give some account of it. It is divided into three parts, which, though very mountainous, are yet extremely fruitful. Minerals are found here; as lead, copper, and a small quantity of gold dust. The vegetables which the soil produces are Turkish corn, millet, the sugar-cane, and some tobacco: a pleasant sort of wine is made here, which is extracted from the palm; and that from the plum is excellent. They derive but little benefit at present from their cotton trade, partly occasioned by their frequent wars, but principally from a very fine forest, nearly a league in length, and of the same width, which produced much of their cotton, having been entirely consumed by fire in the year

year 1780: it was situated near the city of Alernthangoz, or Ango. Animals, both wild and tame, are found here in great abundance, particularly elephants much valued for the ivory, as well as lions, tigers and wolves, with whose skins they carry on a considerable trade at Molembe, which is the chief commercial market in the country; here they are purchased by Europeans, but mostly by the Dutch. There are also buffaloes, oxen, and a peculiar kind of red and blue striped ring-dove, pheasants, and all kinds of birds. The Mazato, or hare of this country, is as large as that of the West Indies; but the fur, like that of their sheep, which resembles our dog, cannot be turned to any advantage. The great lake above Molembe produces good fish, particularly a large and well-flavoured shell-fish. The country is divided into the three following divisions: first, the upper, or coast part, belonging to the Portugueze; the second, or middle country, is inhabited by the Molembans, to the west of which are the Portugueze factories; and the third, or lower division, is the kingdom of Cacongo. About a hundred and fifty years since the two last nations were under the sovereignty of one king; but some high officers of the court of Loango, profiting by the neglect of their own monarch, collected a body of men in order to establish themselves in different authorities; thus the kingdoms of Molembe and Cacongo were formed, and they have since been subjected to various other revolutions. These two great states, who limit the ambition of the Portugueze, united and aided by their allies, can bring into the field an army of thirty thousand men, wholly composed of infantry, armed with the bow and arrow, which they use with the greatest bravery. They are, in a degree, heathens; but without practising much of the usual idolatry, or even ceremonies. They acknowledge one supreme being, to whom they offer their supplications every morning and evening in temples which are but meanly constructed. Their priests have no share in the civil government; nor are they so much revered as is the

the custom with other heathen nations. The Portuguese have exerted much industry in order to spread the doctrine of Christianity in these parts, but without success. I found that it was the number of our ceremonies, as well as those dogmas which are not easily comprehended, that deterred this people from embracing the new religion; nor can this be wondered at, accustomed as they are to the most simple worship of their god. School-houses are not seen here, the children being taught on a green, in the open air: writing has been long known to them; palm-leaves is their substitute for paper, and for pens they use the small bones of some bird or fish. Their colour, which is more of a dark brown than a red, adds to the wildness of their looks; their persons are in general large and strong, with full eyes, flat noses, and thick lips; their hair is of a great length: they are quite naked down to the waist, with an apron of leaves or skin, which they fasten round their middles; but in the vicinity of the Portuguese possessions this apron is made of a thin blue striped linen. The difference in the dress of the sexes is merely that of the females dividing their hair into five or six parts, which is bound round the head, and ornamented with shells, bones, or glass beads. They smear their bodies with the fat of the sheep's tail, which, when boiled, always retains a fluid state: with this disgusting custom I was forced to comply; my skin being much parched by the excessive heat of the sun, the pain it gave me was intolerable. Their houses are sometimes built of rough stone: but chiefly with reeds, or wood and clay, which are but miserable huts, with circular roofs, in which a hole is made to clear the dwelling of smoke. They commonly live on milk almost sour, meal, fish, and the flesh of such animals as they may obtain by hunting: but tame animals are only slain on great festivals. The inhabitants of the towns live much better than those who are scattered over the villages: the use of vessels for cooking, though known to them, is not of much

much use, as they are still attached to the ancient method of dressing their food; spices they are exceedingly fond of. A stranger will meet with more hospitality here than in any other part of Africa. Should he be unacquainted with the country, a guide is either sent with him to the next village, or to some place where he cannot mistake his road. Kind and good tempered, this people cheerfully divide with others whatever they possess; nor will they deign to accept any thing in return. Jealousy is a leading passion with them, and those injuries which they feel they scruple not to avenge. Should there be but the slightest cause for a husband to suspect his wife's constancy, she is obliged to be more diligent than ever in convincing him of her faith, which, in many instances, is a task of extreme difficulty. Hunting, fishing, and the use of arms are the chief employments of the men; some few, indeed, make earthen-ware, forge arms, and weave nets. My guide and me passed through the villages of Magay, Ahala, and Sechang, and rested for the night in the town of Kungoha, which is situated in a swamp at the foot of a small ridge of hills. I counted about two hundred and seventy neat-looking houses, and observed that the water, which appeared almost putrid, was fetched from a distance of near a mile from the town. The greatest part of the inhabitants are miners, who are employed in the adjacent mountains. Massavah, king of Cacongo, is lord of the town, the government of which is entrusted to two judges under his appointment. Here I was received with hospitality; but, finding that I was suspected of being a white slave, I thought it most prudent to pursue my journey in the morning, having first put a piece of money into the judge's hand, which procured my liberty.

On the 8th we crossed the highest mountain in this part of the country, called Mahta, near the Moon-mountains. To the left we saw the town of Moohog, sometimes called Niederbemde; at the foot of the mountain we observed to the number of forty people digging

ing for tin: I inquired if they knew how to smelt it but they answered that they did not; at the same time informing me that they sold it at the smelt-houses at Molembe. I desired a little milk, which they gave me, and in return I offered them a gilder in change, which they gave me 360 zimpos; this surprized me much, as I had always thought that the value of money was totally unknown in this part of the country. My guide soon after begged me to give him a piece, which I did, and he told me that it was no curiosity to him. About evening we fell in with a company of men, who were returning to their homes in Vodolana * from hunting: they invited us to accompany them, but my guide positively refused; telling me, after they were gone, that their characters were suspicious, and that in their mode travellers were not secure. We stopped when we came within six miles of the village of Ogbo; there there is a ferry. We attempted to kindle a fire, but without success; and, being quite exhausted with fatigue, we stretched ourselves upon a heap of leaves, and slept undisturbed till morning. We then proceeded to the village, where we staid about an hour, and afterwards ferried over the river, for which we were demanded to pay sixty zimpos. Here we fell in with a traveller, who was conveying ore to Molembe for sale: he appeared to be a man of much information, and I regretted that my little knowledge of the language prevented me from conversing with him. From this river to Molembe is about a day and a half's journey; the country abounding with well-flavoured fruits and fine water: there is an excellent spring about three miles from the town, which the inhabitants call Bonhi Eekoma, or the golden well.

We arrived at Molembe on the 11th; but were not suffered to enter that city till a messenger had been sent to notice our arrival to the *malputta*, or governor, and ask his permission. After waiting about an hour, an officer

* Containing only a few huts, on the western side of the Baho, which is crossed here by a ferry.

officer came, who put similar questions to me as are used to strangers at the gates of our principal German towns. When I told them I came from the east, they seemed surprized, as my dress was of the most common sort, without any singularity; the officer turned to his companion, and said, *mani mambuta*, a Portugueze lord; and then led us to a hut in the suburbs, placing a guard of four men over us. I soon discovered that I was again taken for a spy, and expected some harsh treatment, for the officer went out but soon returned, and took my guide away with him, which I conjectured was done to obtain some secret intelligence relative to the object of my journey. When my guide came back he told me he must now return to his home; I therefore paid him, according to our agreement, above which I gave him two gilders for his fidelity; he was then conducted beyond the suburbs by one of the guards: I was left to rest the whole of the day in my hut, plentifully supplied with plums, apples, milk, and meal. To my guards, who were very inquisitive, I told only such particulars of my travels as I could with safety; these were repeated to their officer, when he came in the evening, without much attention to fact, who again told it to the king, by which his curiosity was so far excited, that I was sent for the next morning. Immediately on entering his presence I was desired to answer his questions.—King “What do you want in this town? are you a merchant or a spy?” I answered that I wanted nothing; that having been lately shipwrecked on the coast, I had a desire to see a place, the grandeur of which I had heard praised at a great distance. “What nation do you belong to, and whence came you?” “I am an Arab, I came from the southern part of Caffraria, where our ship was wrecked.” “If this is true you must have had companions, where are they?” “Myself and two others only escaped the wreck; they accompanied me till they fell sick, when they were murdered by the Caffres.” “What distance from hence is the place where your ship was lost?” “Between two and three thousand miles.” “Had

in that dress when you were on board ship?" "No, my own clothes have been since taken from me by the Caffres." "How distant is it from your native country?" "I do not know." "You shall stay with me till some ship arrives, when you shall return to your friends." He then ordered the officer to conduct me back, and to supply me with clothes, which he did, consisting of a uniform like the *body-guard*; viz. a blue cloak, reaching only to the hams, a short apron, and a long piece of cotton for a turban; thus equipped, I was again conducted to the king, and honoured by the appointment of attendant on his travelling buffaloes, which it was my office to load and unload. I continued in this post till the king returned to the ordinary place of his residence, which was in about three months. Molemba was formerly the capital of a small principality, and its king was called Nalimba Nakakany, or prince of the pit. For the purpose of usurping the dominion of the neighbouring states, the last of these princes formed an alliance with the Zoggoreans*; he was, however, defeated, taken prisoner, and deprived of his dominions by the king of Cacongo.

The kingdom of Cacongo, to which Molemba has since been annexed, is about four hundred and twenty miles in length, and two hundred and forty in breadth, extremely fertile, producing various kinds of vegetables, minerals, and animals, particularly wild beasts of all kinds, which are caught chiefly on account of the value of their skins. Salt sufficient for their use is found, and also a great quantity of metallic ores, which, however, are wrought with less skill by them than by other nations. The river Bambo and the coast of Samoya supplies them with abundance of every kind of fish. Europeans have great advantages in trading with this nation; for such trifling articles as beads, shells, bits of iron, common linen, and arms

* Who inhabited a narrow tract of land to the eastward of the King of Angola's dominions, to whom they were tributary.

arms of the worst quality, they receive large quantities of the very best skins and furs. The king's regular army consists of near twelve thousand men which can be assembled in eight and forty hours; he is himself a good foldier; he leads his warriors into the field in person; and, from his valour and skill, is so dreaded by the surrounding nations, that they have used some efforts to deprive him of his authority, but without success. He is no less distinguished for his pride than for his valour: on going abroad he is escorted by four of his principal officers and twelve of his body-guard; and when he gives audience all must fall on their knees. The principal officers are also judges in the smaller towns; but all matters of importance are decided by the king himself. He is very punctual in his religious duties, attending prayers both morning and evening, and the priests are required to be scrupulously attentive to the duties of their office, or they lose the king's favour. Polygamy is permitted. Males are looked upon as the king's property from their infancy, and are trained to the use of arms. The education of the females is the peculiar province of the mother; that of the boys is committed to the priests. The king has twenty wives, who are treated with some severity, and scarce ever suffered to appear in public; should they have sons, they are generally appointed to the first offices whilst very young. In time of war the officers receive both pay and provisions from the king; but the common men must provide for themselves, for which reason they are generally accompanied by their wives, who assist them in procuring food. The king's dominions contain two towns, eight and thirty villages, and a fort erected on a very high hill. Molembe, which is the capital, contains about seven hundred huts and houses; there are three long or principal streets, and two cross streets; the Kossa, or street of business, is the finest and most frequented; it contains the magazines and counting-houses of the Dutch and Portugeze merchants, and is the place where

where all other business is transacted. The market is in Kifuhao-street, in which all kinds of fruit as well as cattle are sold. The principal streets have each two gates, and a guard of eighteen or twenty men, who see that no provisions or goods are brought into the town without having first paid a toll similar to that of our excise in Germany. The town is surrounded by a wall of loose stones and a ditch. The residence of the king, when he visits this city, is but a poor building, one story high, and about five hundred feet in circumference, the outer buildings being occupied by soldiers, and the inner apartments by his wives. It is situated opposite the water-gate of the river, and commands a very fine prospect: I observed that it was defended by four pieces of cannon, three pounders, the cost of which must have been considerable. I must also remark, that to this market ivory and minerals are brought, which are either sold or exchanged for European commodities, on which a duty is paid of five *per cent*. While I remained here a Dutch merchant-ship arrived, the captain of which, named Rosenmeyer, wished to purchase thirty elephants teeth of my master, for which he offered a piece of red cloth, several ells in length, as a turban, three strings of yellow beads, four tin-handled knives, and a woollen shawl. The king seemed inclined to accept this offer, but I stepped forward, and proposed that the captain should receive only ten teeth; adding, that the value of his goods was so trifling, that if he got one or two teeth for them he would be overpaid, therefore the ten must afford him an exorbitant profit, but that thirty he could not in reason expect: should he wish the remaining twenty, he must offer better goods. The captain looked me full in the face, and asked me, cheerfully, if I was the king's tutor. I told him I was not; but having undertaken to dispose of the teeth, I should see that they were not given away. Enraged at this, he endeavoured to make the king believe that I opposed the bargain in order to promote my own interest. The king now looked displeased, and asked me why I

K

would

would not deliver all the teeth; when, taking courage, I replied, that the offer of ten teeth, which I had made the captain, was far above the value of his goods, and that my only object was to prevent so kind and bountiful a master as he was from being imposed on: this answer soothed him, and, after pausing, he said, "You know how to make the best bargain, so I leave it to you," on which he left us. The captain now made a new offer; so that, in addition to the former articles, I received two hatchets, six pair of shears, a looking-glass, and twenty gilders. I kept the money myself, but the goods I delivered to the king, who was so much pleased at my conduct that he dispensed with my accustomed labour, appointed me to attend his person, and presented me with other clothes, among which was one of his own cloaks, of some value, which he had just laid aside. My duty now required me to be so much with him, that even less time was left for myself than I had hitherto had: one day, following him in the chace, I had the good luck to kill a stag with my javelin, which pleased him so much that he gave me leave to join in the diversion whenever I pleased. The *evanga*, though pretending to have a great regard for me, was my worst enemy: jealous of the favours I received from the king, he sought every means to deprive me of his good opinion, and it was not long before an opportunity occurred for putting his wicked design in practice. I was one day ordered to gather some plums, and, in the king's name, to take them to the apartment of his wives: I asked to whom I was to give them, and was told that an old woman was there waiting to receive them. I accordingly fetched the fruit, with which I hastened to the *seraglio*, but no old woman was to be found: I called, but receiving no answer, called again more loudly, on which the *evanga*, whose room was near, came running to me, and desired I would make no more noise, lest the women should be alarmed. I told him the order that I had received from the king; when he begged me to return, promising to deliver the fruit

fruit himself. I still persisted, and was advancing, when he said, "If you dare to go to the wives of your master, to-morrow your life will answer for it!" I knew that entering their apartments was severely forbidden; but, having the king's authority, I thought I had nothing to fear. The *evanga* renewed his persuasions, and proposed that I should go with him to his apartment; I did so, and he treated me with *embettah*, or palm-wine, which so intoxicated me, that, forgetting the plums, I staggered to my own room, and laid myself down. This was exactly to the *evanga's* wish, he hastened to the king, taking the fruit with him, and representing that I had alarmed the women very much, and that it was with great difficulty, and even at the hazard of their lives, that the sentinels prevented me from forcing my way into the apartments of his majesty's wives. The guards, from neglect, were not at their posts when I would have entered those rooms, so that, in order to escape a severe punishment for their being absent without leave, they thought it more prudent to join in the story of the *evanga*. The king ordered that I should be arrested, and brought to trial immediately: two soldiers were sent to awake me, and I was carried away to be examined. Not recovered from the effect of the liquor, I uttered things which I should not have said had I been sober, on which I was immediately put in irons, and confined in a wretched hut without the palace, the entrance of which was fastened by bolts and leathern thongs. In this situation I lay till noon next day, without any thing to allay my hunger or thirst, when four soldiers entered and ordered me to follow them; I obeyed, and was conducted into the king's presence, who appeared much displeased with me: I could not remember much of what had passed, or what I had said on my former examination, so that the answers which I now made to the *evanga's* charges were confused and contradictory. The king, not satisfied with the evidence he had heard, ordered me to be sent back to the hut, directing that I should be supplied with

meal and milk. After remaining some hours in the hut, I called to the guard, and entreated them to set me at liberty, but I received only severe threats, and was commanded to remain quiet. On the following morning I was again examined: all that I could do was to acknowledge my having been intoxicated, and beg to be forgiven; but this did not prove sufficient, for, when the examination was ended, two of the soldiers were commanded to give me twenty lashes with leathern thongs, which caused me much pain. I was now carried back to the hut, and, instead of a mitigation of my sufferings, my allowance of food was reduced to a small handful of grain, and half a can of water. My circumstances were thus greatly and suddenly altered; I was now used as a slave, and forced to cut and carry fuel for the use of the different apartments, and other degrading offices: my food was very bad, and so insufficient in quantity that my appetite was not half satisfied; I was ridiculed and insulted by all, and my sufferings were so great that I even longed for death. The *evanga* alone pretended to shew me compassion, his sincerity will be hereafter proved; but the storm that lasts the longest must subside; after rain sun-shine will come. I had endured this miserable existence upwards of six weeks without any prospect of relief, when suddenly the overseer of the slaves received the king's orders to take a sufficient number of us to the mountains * in search of elephants teeth. The following day, which was the 6th of October, sixty of the slaves, of which I was one, set forward, escorted by twenty foldiers: we were first to proceed by the coast of Sohmoia, about a day and a half's journey from the town, for the purpose of procuring shell-fish. This employ is dangerous, and often even fatal, as the muscles lie buried so deep in the mud, that in digging them out you not only run the risk of being buried

* Which divide this country from that of Jaga, or Jomhago; they consist of a chain running from east to west, about six days journey in length; abounding with fruit and palm-trees.

buried in it, but of losing your feet from the bite of a large species of tortoise, and other creatures. These dangers I happily surmounted; but there were others which I could not get over.

I had procured thirty of these muscles*, which I was commanded to carry to the town. I soon found that I was unable to execute this task; so that we had not proceeded three miles when, unable to keep up with the others, I was obliged to follow slowly and at a distance; for this I was struck by the guard with their thongs so repeatedly that I at length sunk to the earth, the blood gushing from my mouth. Even in this state I received no mark of pity from the guard; every method was used to force me up and proceed with my burden; but as this was not possible, some of my companions in misery took my load and divided it between them, and it was then with the greatest difficulty that I could keep up till we arrived at the town. The overseer told the king our success, and particularly described the danger that three of the party ran of losing their feet; he also said, that the new slave, meaning me, unable to bear the fatigue, had dropped down under his load, but of the beating which followed he said not a word. On this the king ordered that I should be brought out; but, as my body was covered with blood, it was necessary that I should be washed before I could appear before him; he was therefore told that, having again fallen sick, I was not in a state to enter his presence. At day-break the *evanga* came to inquire after my health, when I gave him four gilders, and entreated him to assist me in obtaining my liberty from the king. He now went away, but soon after sent one of the attendants, who carried me before

* They are round, and, when full grown, are as large as a dinner-plate; of a greenish colour, containing pearls, though not of worth: it is the shell which they value, as they use it for plates, and as ornaments; they are made to look well by being polished with a stone. The fish, which is white, is so exceedingly hard, that before it can be eat it is beaten with a large piece of wood. At the Cape this species is called *klepp-kjschen*.

before his majesty; where the following dialogue took place:

King.—"What is it you want?" *Answer.*—"I want only my liberty, which I entreat you to grant me." *K.*—"As you are not sick, why did you not come last night when I sent for you?" *A.*—"Because I was unacquainted with your orders." *K.*—"I was told that it was on account of your spitting blood that you could not come." *A.*—"That is partly true, for your inhuman servants have treated me worse than a beast, as you shall now see." I then threw off my cloak, and shewed him my scarred and bruised body. *K.*—"Probably you deserved this punishment." *A.*—"Hear me, I entreat you, and then judge between us: they loaded me with thirty shells, when to the others they gave only twelve or fifteen." *K.*—"This punishment you deserved for neglecting your duty when you were a free servant." *A.*—"I never intended to transgress your orders: the *evanga* caused me to do so." *K.*—"It was the *evanga* who told me of your disobedience and licentiousness." *A.*—"I was not disobedient; I wished to execute your commands punctually, but was prevented by the *evanga*." I then told him the whole story, and again prayed that he would grant me my freedom; representing, at the same time, that I was a foreigner, and he could not, in justice, make me his slave; that I was travelling through his territories, paying for whatever I required, without making any claims on his hospitality; for that I then desired to pay him for those things which I had received whilst his servant. The officers, who were standing by, seemed astonished at the freedom of my language, and the *evanga* appeared much hurt. He told the king I was a liar; that scarce one word that I had said was true; and proposed that I should be exchanged for some slave up the country. His advice was to be taken; but I was first to be sent in search of the elephants teeth. I set out on the following day, having first received a dozen lashes, given me, as I learnt afterwards, at the desire of the *evanga*; who also told

told the conductor to be particularly strict with me. We left Molemba on the 12th of October, and in three days reached the place where we were to encamp: it was on the banks of a small river, probably an arm of the Bambo, between two hills to the north-east. For the first three days we did not find a tooth, which induced us to remove our tents, on the fourth, to a thicket which lay towards the east. On the fifth we found three teeth; but not without much danger, as the elephants were still in this part of the country, which obliged us to retire to the mountains on the 19th, and encamp near the village of Wahat*. At noon our conductor divided us into three parties, for the convenience of searching the woods; myself, a slave, and three soldiers being sent to the right. Towards evening we found a tooth weighing near sixty pounds, with which we returned to our camp the same night. We rested the next day, and on the 22d went out in parties as before; mine returned to its former post; from whence we travelled to the north-east, but without any success, though we continued our search till evening. We had settled to return to the camp that night, but first sat down on the bushes to eat a small quantity of millet; but the soldiers found themselves so much fatigued, and as the camp was at a distance of nine miles they determined to pass the night where we were. We had gathered some wood for a fire, when one of our comrades, who had been reconnoitering, returned, and prevented us, by saying, that he had seen a fire not far off; that we had better not light another, lest it should discover us to the other party, who were Yaggos†, on the borders of whose country we now were; and that they were come, probably, on the same errand as ourselves. I heaped together a quantity
of

* The last village on the eastern frontier, containing about twenty huts.

† I know not whether these be the Yaggos mentioned by some geographers to be inhabitants of the kingdom of Mence-mugi. I affirm that there are no such people in those dominions.

of rushes, and throwing myself on them, pretended to fall asleep. I heard my companions talking about the fire that had been seen, for near half an hour, when they composed themselves for rest. I lay about two hours thus, when I got up under a pretence, and went a few paces; no one following, and concluding my companions were asleep, I seized the opportunity, and ran with all my speed to the place where the fire was. I did not reach it before day-light: no one was there, though the ashes were still glowing, and round it I perceived the marks of feet: following this track for about six miles, through a wood, I at last came up with three men, armed with javelins and hunting-spears. I stopped immediately, and called out, "*Mora, mah-yakoko* : here am I, my friends?" They came running to me instantly, and asked where I was going and whither I came. I told them in a few words the reason of my journey, dwelling particularly on my late miserable condition. I was asked the number, strength, and situation of my companions who were in search of the teeth. I gave them a very accurate account; which done, I was conducted to their village, distant about six miles, containing eighty huts. Here I was ordered to repeat my story to the *majka*, or chief, who considering it was an insult for another nation to hunt on his territories, ordered his men to arms, directing them to attack the invaders instantly; but they came too late; for, on my being missed, the others escaped, most probably fearing that I should betray them.

CHAP. IX.

Some account of the Yaganese; their customs, manners, national character, and way of life.—War-buffaloes.—Water-pouches made of the entrails of elephants.—The author pursues his journey over the Akasi mountains, through the city of Groh, to the frontier village Vakhala, in the territory of Mugari Minto.—Description of this village and its inhabitants.—Journey through the thick forests of a mountainous country over the village Sovohm.—History and Description of the kingdom of Massi; Mamkam its capital.—Little hamlet Muhotahu.—The inhabitants subsist by robbery.—Journey continued through the villages Dæmoh, Bathym, and Hata, to the country of the Mathbianians.—Account of that nation.—Kingdom of Yukodego, or Monæmugi, described; its situation, boundaries, and history.—The inhabitants descended from two distinct origins.—Their form of government, religion, customs, and manners.—Further journey by Avakana.—The lake and city of Zambre.—Description of the city and its royal palace.—Character of the king.—Uniform of the officers.—The author repairs a clock for the king, obtains the royal favour, and travels with his majesty to the lake Zambre.—Errors in maps pointed out.—Departure from Zambre.—The author proceeds across the Akmah mountains, through Serra, Mohar, and Yelloh, by Etaham, Mufs, Kinogu, Mesatu, and Gohami; passes over the frontier mountains by Paatam and Kologom, the last village of the kingdom.

THE Yaganese are a nation inconsiderable as to numbers, and very poor; dwelling chiefly in forests, and subsisting on roots and fruits: even the chase produces them but little towards their sustenance; for the tigers are so very numerous as to prevent the increase of other animals. Except those beasts and elephants there are few others in any abundance: for the teeth of the latter the natives procure javelins and

hunting-spears from their surrounding neighbours. The district inhabited by this people is, strictly speaking, a part of Molembe; but having rendered themselves independent, they keep possession of eight villages, so commodiously situated with respect to each other, that the inhabitants in the space of a day may all assemble in one place. Each village has a chief elected from amongst those the most distinguished for their valour. I could gain no account of the origin of this nation; but I think it not an improbable surmise, that they are sprung from that of Congo. Their number of men able to bear arms, according to their own account to me, is one thousand; and they vaunt highly of their national bravery.

The king of Cacongo styles himself sovereign and protector of the Yaganese; but he cannot be certain of their assistance unless they are treated by him with esteem and confidence; for they will not pay unconditional submission to his commands. The number of warriors in his own immediate kingdom is certainly far superior to those of this small nation; yet he has it very little in his power to injure them, they are so secured in their fastnesses amongst their woods and mountains. They are accused of being much addicted to robbery, and by some are called cannibals; but I never saw the least tendency to either of these characteristics whilst amongst them. On the contrary, they mentioned to me, as a matter of surprize, that their neighbours the Monomotapans seized every opportunity that offered for the purpose of plunder, and that they even devoured the flesh of their prisoners. The Yaganese are universally hospitable; the stranger is sure of meeting with the best accommodation, and sharing the best fare the country affords; and, when he trusts himself with confidence to their protection, may rest secure that they will never injure him.

They acknowledge no king as supreme head, nor have they any priests: their manners are simple, being only dictated by the law of nature. When water becomes scarce in any district where they have their temporary

temporary residence, they remove to one further northward and more contiguous to some branch of the river Bambo, the waters of which never fail in any part of the year. Children are allowed to grow up without any manner of instruction; whatever information they acquire must be self taught. Except when they follow the chase the men have no active employments; the women collect the fuel, make the fires, and gather the fruits, the only species of labour they use. No mats or cloathing of any kind are made here; the people sleep on unwoven rushes, and go quite naked. The greater number amongst them will lie entire days stretched on their rustic couches in total inaction; and may be pronounced, without any exception, the laziest people through all Africa. I never saw any thing like a religious rite during my stay with them; nor could I learn that any were ever observed.

The chief gave me a pressing invitation to prolong my stay, in these emphatic terms: "Stay, stranger; stay here: whilst thou art with us all we do will prosper, and thou shalt never suffer hunger." This promise, however, was not always fulfilled; for, when the weather was very hot, those indolent beings provided nothing for themselves, nor of course for me; but indulged in the most immoveable supineness. On these occasions, therefore, I was obliged to use my own exertions, and go in search of fruits and roots to remove the cravings of hunger. That I might not be infected with this malady of laziness, I sought for amusement, and formed an acquaintance with a girl who employed herself in carving figures on bones, which she first bleached white. The following was her process:—She buried the bones for a certain time beneath some moist sand, and, when taken out, exposed them to the heat of the sun, which, in exhaling the moisture, drew all the impurities to the surface, and these she scraped off. When thus prepared she cut a variety of figures on them with sharp stones; and this she executed with so much ease and ingenuity, that many artists tolerably skilled in sculpture would, perhaps, find

it difficult to rival her workmanship. Unlawful love is not here restrained in any degree; it is deemed an impulse of nature which ought to be indulged. I resided till the end of the year with this kind-hearted people, accompanied them in some expeditions against their enemies, and assisted in the capture of two war-buffaloes *, which were killed and dressed for the feast celebrated in honour of our victory.

When, at length, I mentioned my design of quitting them and resuming my journey, almost every inhabitant of the village testified the most unfeigned sorrow; and on my requesting that some one should point out to me the easiest and most direct road to the kingdom of Maffi, the greater number of them were ready with their offers of service to conduct me to their borders; and I was presented with a large quantity of dried roots and a water-pouch † for my journey.

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* I ought sooner to have given a description of these buffaloes. They are trained up from the first for the purposes of war; their horns, as soon as grown to any length, are split into many divisions, each of which is bent in such a direction over the face of the animal, that the whole combined gives him a most formidable appearance. They are rendered so docile and tame by habit, that they are easily guided by the men who have charge of them, and who either sit on their backs, or walk behind them with sharp pointed sticks, in case they require to be goaded on, and thus they rush impetuous on the foe, and carry destruction wherever they move by treading down all in their way, or by maiming or killing whoever they can reach with their many-pointed horns. A piece of an elephant's skin doubled is generally hung over the head and breast, to repel the force of javelins when aimed at them, as well as to prevent their being dismayed at the numbers of the enemy who rush on them.

† These utensils are made of the entrails of elephants, rubbed over with ashes, and then dried in the sun. They are particularly useful for carrying water on journies; when filled, they are tied round the body; and when the traveller wishes for a refreshing draught, he takes off his pouch and suspends it in the air between two sticks stuck in the ground or two trees, and thus it becomes cool. In those countries where persons are by no means always sure of finding water, there is infinite comfort in these vessels, as this cooling beverage is always ready at hand.

On the 2d of December, 1786, I again commenced my travels, attended by two guides. At an early hour we reached the village of Tamo, consisting of about sixty huts; here we breakfasted, and then crossed the mountain Ahah. Towards noon we came to a place called Groh, which might with great propriety be termed a town, as it contains nearly three hundred huts of a very superior construction. It is seated in a richly fertile plain. I stopped here, determined to spend the remainder of the day with my kind friends the guides, who were to accompany me no further. The *naita* was very solicitous to entertain us well, and for this purpose collected all the eatables in his hut to set before us; and our lodging was also as comfortable as he could make it.

The next morning, as soon as my fellow-travellers had left me, I pursued my way, which lay through a forest many miles in length, and more imperviously thick than any through which I had ever before passed. I was often obliged, for more than a hundred paces following, to creep under bushes, so interwoven together it was impossible to disentangle them; and at times forced to drag myself along with my legs and arms extended, and my face prone to the ground. At length, after five hours such travelling, I arrived at the frontier village Vahala, on the banks of a small river which flows from east to west, and, after forcing its way amongst a long chain of mountains, empties itself, as I have been informed, into the lake Sohmoya, which I have already mentioned. The village consists of about sixty or seventy huts, is situated on an eminence in the midst of a wood, which abounds with the finest fruit-trees, particularly some which were loaded with plums: there are also in its neighbourhood some tamarind trees, of the fruit of which the inhabitants make no use.

The chief of the village, who was my host, treated me with an ill-natured moroseness; and was, to all appearance, no less covetous than churlish. He gave me as a supper a few plums and a little water; and for my bed

bed a bundle of rushes was strewed before his hut door. To my great annoyance, in the night a violent storm of thunder and lightning came on, accompanied by a deluge of rain: my host was alarmed by it, that he was like a person bereft of his senses, and I was drenched through before he gave me admission into the hut. As soon as day began to dawn I arose and proceeded on my journey: my path lay through another part of the forest towards the eastward, and soon led me to that chain of mountains of which I just now spoke, and which borders on the territory of Mugari, called by the natives Minto; * it is a country of no great extent, but thinly peopled and the few inhabitants there are treat strangers with great rudeness who happen to be unacquainted with their language, either by total neglect, or by behaving with insulting violence, from the narrow prejudice of believing that all who speak a different dialect from themselves must be abusing them. They are small of stature, and disagreeable in their appearance, and are despised and harshly treated by their next neighbours, which are the Massianes, and the nation which I had just left.

Small as they are in person, however, there are none of the neighbouring nations so skilful and expert in hunting the elephant; it is by the exchange of teeth and skins of those animals they procure their subsistence. The whole number of inhabitants does not amount to more than three thousand, and the greater part of these live so sequestered in caverns of the rocks, the entrances to which are concealed by thick bushes, that travellers may often pass by without discovering scarcely any habitations. To those strangers who understand their language, and are able to converse with them, they can be friendly and hospitable. Although they have no other flesh than that of elephants,

* Geographers have placed this nation too far to the northward; for even though they lead a wandering life, removing from place to place, yet the boundaries of their excursions assuredly do not extend three hundred German miles.

ants, yet they have the art of dressing it in various ways, by the addition of different herbs, as renders it most pleasing to the palate. They generally cut it into thin slices, and lay them into pickle; when taken out of this they rub each slice over with salt and herbs, in which they lie buried for some days; after which they are hung up in the air for about the same space of time: when thus prepared the meat is laid on the coals and broiled with a gradual heat, and when thoroughly done, it is, I think, superior in flavour to our German wild-boar hams.

They are not in possession of the whole of the mountain where they inhabit, one part of it belongs to the Massianes. Their language is very different from that of the two nations on which they border; neither of whom it is understood, though the mountaineers understand each other perfectly. They have woolly heads; large eyes, flat noses, projecting lips, and naturally pointed teeth, which they sharpen still more by grinding them with stones; their complexion is rather brown than black; and they mark their foreheads and cheeks with different figures indented with stones. They go entirely naked, are extremely indolent, and not less amorous. Their whole extent of territory may be traversed in half a day.

On the 5th, 6th, and 7th I had a miserable journey over rugged paths, which lay alternately through forests and over mountains; neither village nor human being met my eye, and I suffered intolerably from thirst. As to food, nature was kindly bountiful to me in that respect, the carob-tree abounding the whole of my way. I might also have had great plenty of game, particularly the Chamois goat and wild boar; the latter annoyed and alarmed me so much that I was frequently obliged to climb up trees to avoid them: I found one of their tusks in my progress, which was eight inches long and three in depth, and which might have passed for the finest ivory. On the evening of the 7th I reached the village of Sovohm, consisting of

of a single row of ill-built huts, thirty in number extending from north to east between a small ridge of mountains. The inhabitants flocked about me with the most troublesome curiosity: some felt my lips, others stroked my head, and all walked round surveying me on every side; and thus was I obliged to submit to their examination as if I had been some monstrous animal. I did not understand a word of their language, and yet several amongst them seemed to comprehend what I said. None of them, as I would appear, had ever before seen a white man which may be easily accounted for, since their numerous mountains, and nearly impenetrable forests, with which they are surrounded, make their habitations so difficult of access. I think it would be a speculation likely to turn out of the most profitable nature, were a commercial company to form themselves merely for the purpose of exploring the mountainous districts belonging to this nation; as it is hardly to be doubted that vast treasures are concealed amongst them. No manner of resistance need be apprehended from the natives, who are much too weak to attempt it, and who might easily be conciliated by gentle treatment; Skins and ivory would be found very lucrative articles of export from thence, and might be easily transported in small vessels down the river Zambeze to Fort St. Martial, formerly belonging to the Portuguese: this would not be more than a six days navigation; and other commodities might be sent from thence in return.

It is some centuries since the death of Massi, the sovereign from whom the country took its name; fourteen kings have reigned since his time: Mamkham, who at present enjoys that dignity, was elected to it in the year 1783. The king is equally poor with the rest of the inhabitants, over whom he enjoys no other pre-eminence than the right, as head of the nation, of declaring war and concluding peace; with that of leading his subjects against their enemies. They have neither priests nor subordinate judges in the whole

whole extent of the country, which is about six days journey in length, and four in breadth; there are only two towns, but several villages and hamlets. Of the former of these, one is called Mamkam; it contains about four hundred miserable huts, and is the residence of the king; the other, named Mihotaha, is smaller.

At Mamkam, which is about two days journey from the lake Yamre, there is a market held every new moon: to this vast numbers of people resort from the country round within reach of it; some for the purposes of traffic, others to have an audience of the king, which he never grants but upon those occasions, and in the open market. Mahataha is situated more to the north, on an arm of the river Zambeze. The villages have all a mean appearance, the huts being wretchedly ill constructed, and only covered with rushes. This nation is not so formidable in the field as many neighbouring ones, as they are but ill armed; they have no weapons made of iron, and use only wooden battle-axes, with javelins of the same, tipped with bone. Here I again saw sheep, which are held in high estimation by the inhabitants:

to prevent their becoming a prey to the tigers they are every night secured in huts. Predatory excursions are very common amongst this people; but these are only against the Melekgohs and Vahyhoys, their frontier neighbours to the north; with the nations on their eastern borders they are on the best terms; these are the Malhilas and the Halogros, who, as well as themselves, subsist partly by pillage. Of their manners, customs, &c. I shall speak more at large when I come to describe those of some other nations which resemble them.

After the curiosity which my appearance had excited, and which I have already described on my arrival at Sovohm, had somewhat subsided, I was received into the hut of the chief, who was a very old man; the eldest of each village being always elected to this office. By him I was entertained merely with
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some meal and water mixed together, and was then shewn to a corner of the hut, where a bundle of straw was spread for me to lie on. Having had very little rest for the last three days and nights, I threw myself down, and was soon fast asleep. I enjoyed a sound repose till the next day, when the sun was high above the horizon, and then awaking, felt a violent itching all over my body, and examining my skin, found it covered over with red spots; upon this I narrowly inspected my bed, when I found beneath it a nest of sand-lice*. I shewed the bites I had received from them to my old host, who laughed at the distress it occasioned me; at the same time, giving me a tortoise-shell filled with grease, he desired me to anoint my skin with it. As I stretched out my hand to receive it, a pouch, made of a buffalo's entrail, in which I kept the remainder of my money, with the piece of gold that had been presented me, and which I had fastened beneath my arm, fell to the ground. I uttered an exclamation, and quickly snatched it up, but not before it had been perceived by the old man, who, though old, and apparently feeble, sprang forward with all the agility of youth to seize it. This I prevented his doing, and kept him at bay till I should make my escape from the hut; this I effected, and flew to a large heap of straw in which I deposited my treasure; taking the precaution, however, to keep in my hand some shells which had also been in it, and which I pretended were what had made the noise in falling; he immediately grasped at these, which I willingly relinquished, though with feigned reluctance, that I might not be suspected of possessing anything of greater value.

I kept close in the hut all this day, to avoid being a public

* These insects are white, and rather larger than common ants. They lay their eggs in sand where it is exposed to the heat of the sun, by which they are hatched in the space of four-and-twenty hours. To prevent their biting the human body the inhabitants rub themselves with the grease obtained by broiling the feet of elephants.

public spectacle for curiosity, as the people still
asked about me the short time I had appeared.
The old host perceiving I had not yet recovered from
fatigue, and that my skin was still much inflamed,
prevented the crowd from pressing in to molest me;
and on my giving him twenty more shells, the whole,
as I pretended, of my stock, he became still more
attentive, and brought me a large cup of milk, with
two handfuls of meal, which abundantly satisfied my
hunger. In return for this hospitality, I found means
to get out a gilder, which I presented him. Overjoyed
at this acquisition, he immediately ran out of the hut,
and displayed it to all his neighbours: alarmed lest this
might awake their rapacity, I followed to caution
him, but could find no opportunity of speaking pri-
vately to him. On his return I mentioned my fears
to him, but he laughed at them, and assured me I had
no cause for suspicion. I was not, however, mis-
taken in my conjecture. On the following night,
whilst buried in sleep on my couch of straw, I was
suddenly awoke by feeling some person pull my cloak
from me. I attempted to resist and to cry out, but
was prevented doing both by one of the robbers kneel-
ing on my breast, and I should, in all likelihood, soon
have been suffocated; had not the old man, awoke by
my groans, began to make a noise, upon which the thieves
made off. I lay half dead, whilst my host stood trem-
bling by me; his clamours had brought several per-
sons, all eagerly enquiring what was the matter: the
old man related all he knew of it, and they began a
search; when, at the back part of the hut, a hole was
discovered, through which it was evident the plun-
derers had entered and afterwards escaped. A guard,
consisting of four men, was now set, to protect me
from any further attacks; and at day-break a strict
search was ordered to be made after the offenders:
whether any discovery was made concerning them I
did not learn; probably the old judge had been per-
suaded not to bring them to punishment. To this I
was now indifferent, and glad to have escaped with-
out my

my life and property: I about noon set out on my journey, though still far from being recruited in health or strength. My host accompanied me some miles on my way, and then, with many kind wishes, took leave of me.

Not certain I was yet beyond the reach of danger, I proceeded with rapid steps and palpitating heart till I had gained the summit of a hill, where stopping I looked back to see whether I might not be pursued, but was relieved by not seeing any person coming in that direction. In my agitation, I had forgot to bring with me either food or water; and hitherto had seen neither fruit nor springs in my path. Tormented with thirst, I knew not by what means to allay it; at length I put a few pebble-stones in my mouth, and thus proceeded onwards till evening when I entered a fine looking plain, but neither fruit nor water did it offer to my view. Overcome by disappointment, and faint from fatigue, I threw myself on the earth, to await that death which now appeared inevitable. Unable to sleep, from the horrible ideas which haunted my imagination, I sprang up and ran forward with all the speed my weakness would permit, when, after proceeding a few hundred paces, to my infinite satisfaction I espied a space of ground covered with rushes. Some of these I instantly plucked up, and with great eagerness chewed the lower ends of them, and, though bitter to the taste, found they refreshed me extremely. Drowsiness now quite overpowered me, and I sunk upon the grass, where I slept undisturbed till morning. I then arose and resumed my route: I crossed a wild of no great extent, and about noon reached a village called Kamaho. On my entrance into it I could see no person; the heat being intense, the inhabitants had all retired into their huts: I went into that I came first to, and asked for something to drink. Nobody answered, or made any effort to comply with my request, but, as if dismayed by my appearance, sat perfectly stupified. I pushed aside the mats from many doors, calling out in several different

different languages, "Give me water! give me water!" At length a young man advanced towards me, pressed me with the utmost courtesy, but in a language with which I was perfectly unacquainted. Perceiving I did not understand him, he made signs, as if to invite me to approach. I once more expressed by my gestures that I wished for something to drink: he immediately comprehended me, spoke aloud some words, which were quite unknown to me, and in a few minutes some milk and meal were brought me. Many of the other inhabitants, on hearing what he had called about me, now put their heads out of their huts, and on perceiving me, a crowd began to collect round me; many seemed to feel a compassionate interest towards me; and milk, meal, fruits, and roots in abundance were brought for my refreshment. One man invited me to enter his hut, which I did, but I did not remain long, the smell was so powerfully offensive; I therefore lay down on the outside of it to rest myself for some time, and then again set forward, directing my course to the north-eastward. Previous to my departure I had requested, and obtained a pouch filled with fresh water.

Had I not been very weak and enervated I might have reached Akmigo in six hours; but, unable to do so, I was obliged to pass the night by the way, and was obliged to climb a tree, and there remain in agitation and terror, from the prodigious number of lions, tigers, leopards, and buffaloes with which the whole country was infested.

On the 11th I traversed woods, and clambered over steep mountains alternately for some hours, at the end of which I entered a sweet plain, where the charming sound of a fountain, bubbling up from beneath the ground, inspired me with a lively sensation of joy. Here I devoted an hour to rest and refreshment; but now that my thirst was allayed, the cravings of hunger grew most powerfully; and I at length grew so faint, that on rising to proceed on my way, I sunk again on the ground quite powerless. When I had a little recovered

vered myself, I again went on, watching carefully for the print of human footsteps, but none could I discover. Oppressed with the deepest melancholy therefore, I bent my course to the northward, where a ridge of hills arose before me: on these I hoped to meet with something fit for food; but on ascending, and searching all around, was again disappointed; not a single fruit-tree met my eye, and even the plants and roots of shrubs were unfit to be eaten. At length I found a large tortoise, but having no means of lighting a fire, I flung it over my shoulder to carry with me. After having proceeded with it thus far about an hour, the calls of hunger became so extreme that I determined to kill it, and devour the flesh raw. Just ready to begin my operations, I looked about, but all ideas of hunger and thirst soon fled on my discovering a troop of elephants at no great distance behind me. I quickly took to flight, and ran forward with all my speed. Late in the evening I at last discovered the track of human feet; but it was so nearly dark that I found great difficulty in following them: after walking in the direction they pointed to for some time however, I came to some huts: Seeing no inhabitants about them, I sat down to wait till some one should pass by; an old woman presently made her appearance, who, after looking at me some time with surprise, uttered some words in a loud voice, whereupon about twenty persons, young and old, came rushing out, and stood gazing at me. I asked for some food but they did not seem to comprehend me; I then expressed by signs what I wanted; they now discovered my meaning, and some flesh-meat and water were brought me: the former, indeed, had a most favourable smell; but the calls of hunger were so imperious I was glad to eat it all up. Some time after I laid my tortoise to roast on a fire by which these people were dressing their supper, and when it was done made a most comfortable meal, and then went to rest on a wolf-skin, which was spread for me. In the morning I finished the remainder of my tortoise as breakfast.

breakfast, and again set out on my journey, having got my water-pouch replenished by these good people.

At noon I reached Mahatoku, one of the towns I have already mentioned. It is seated on an eminence in a fruitful country, watered by an arm of the river Lambece. The town itself has but a poor appearance; it consists of about a hundred and sixty ill-constructed huts, which are built in three rows; and in a space, in a central situation, stands a sort of temple. Three of the eldest men of the place are appointed *galygos* (chiefs); they are not obliged to receive strangers, who are consigned to some other obliging inhabitant. I was entertained in a most hospitable manner by a young married couple, with whom I lodged; and I regretted much that I could not understand or answer the numerous questions that were put to me by this kind nation.

On the 13th I again resumed my journey, and bent my course to the eastward, that I might avoid the Selekgohs and Valyhoys, who had been represented to me as inhospitable and cruel nations. About noon I reached the village Docmoh, where the huts are very commodious, and in one of these I rested for some hours, and then proceeded to Bathym, through a charming fertile country, along a road shaded by spreading trees, and unmolested by any savage animals. At this place I remained for the night, but did not taste the comfort of sleep, not imagining the inhabitants were very much to be trusted.

On the 14th and 15th my path was rugged, lying over craggy steepes; the wretched village of Hata being the only one I passed. On the evening of the latter day I entered a plain, which forms the boundary of the district I had been traversing. Two of the inhabitants of Mahatoku, who were here employed in gathering fuel, no sooner saw me than they took to flight; I pursued, and in about half an hour reached the village to which they led, and which was the place of their residence: it consisted of about sixty huts, built
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in a closely-formed circle, in the midst of which is a small reservoir, into which is conducted the brackish water of a neighbouring mountain-spring. To prevent its being exposed to the heat of the sun a sort of roof is formed over it, thatched with rushes.

The population of the Mathiaman territory amounts to about eight thousand souls: the tract they possess being in length a journey of two days and half, and is an appendage to the kingdom of Matamoras. The inhabitants subsist by rapine, and their excursions in search of plunder frequently extend as far as the sea-coast. They are low of stature, but stout made; have large eyes, broad noses, but not furnished with thick lips: their complexion is a dark copper colour; their hair, which is long, they let flow at full length, and they go quite naked. The whole nation is governed by one chief, who is called *kilhotucco*; he is both priest and judge; in the latter character he decides all controversies that arise. The people are active and laborious. One-fourth part of them are the military, who go on their plundering expeditions; another part follow the chase, and the two remaining exert themselves with great industry in domestic employments. I saw whilst I was amongst them some remarkable fine cattle, which I found, upon inquiry, had been taken from other nations in some of their predatory attacks. They do not pillage travellers who visit them, but, on the contrary, treat them with much hospitality and kindness. Their language is very much the same as that of the inhabitants of Congo.

On my arrival at the village, as above related, a large party of the inhabitants sallied out of their huts in a hostile manner against me, with loud vociferations, and armed with clubs. I stopped till they came near enough to hear me, and then, addressing them in the Congo language, told them, that, though a stranger, I was their friend, and besought their hospitality in a little present refreshment and a night's lodging. An old man now approached me, and, after eyeing me some time with attention, said, "If thou art not a Christian, come

come with us." I followed, without answering, and he led the way to his hut; where, pointing to a bundle of rushes, he invited me to sit down, and then requested I would tell him some of the particulars of my travels. I complied, and he listened with great attention; and when I had concluded, ordered some meal and water to be brought me. I was very hungry, and soon dispatched all I had received; upon which the by-standers, in a kind of astonishment, said to each other, he must have been long fasting; they did not, however, offer me any thing more. The old man now asked me if I had not brought him some present: I said I should talk with him on that subject in the morning, but that at present I was much in want of sleep: upon this he ordered a bed to be spread for me in a part of his hut where I might sleep in security.

Whilst alone the next morning I took a gilder from amongst my treasure, and on meeting my kind host presented it to him: he was very grateful, and taking hold of both my hands shook them with much cordiality. He gave me a handful of meal when I set out, and shewed me the road it would be best for me to take. This was in an eastern direction, and led me to a mountain, which I climbed, and descending on the other side, came to a village consisting of about forty huts. From the inhabitants here I got a few handfuls of meal, and then went on. I saw villages on each hand as I proceeded; but as the day was not yet near spent, and I had a supply both of meal and water, I did not approach any of them. As it began to grow dark, however, I regretted that I had not; for now there were no longer any habitations within my reach, and I was obliged to lie down unsheltered either from the air or from the fury of wild beasts, if they should choose to attack me, of which I was in anxious dread. As it was moonlight I did not wait for the rise of day, but renewed my march. By the time the sun had got above the horizon, I found myself within a few paces of a hamlet, consisting of sixteen huts. Perceiving that none of the inhabitants had yet begun to stir, I sat down to await
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their rising, but was myself soon fast asleep. On awaking I found myself in a hut, covered over with sheep-skins. Fearing I might have been robbed whilst in such a state of insensibility, I felt for my money, and was happy to find it untouched in the place where I had secured it. Seeing no person about me, nor any thing uncommon in the hut, I again composed myself to rest, and slept undisturbed till towards evening; when again awaking, I looked around and saw a young woman sitting quietly at some distance from me. I now got up, and addressing her, asked for a draught of water, which she readily brought me. I then begged for something to eat; to this she answered, that I should have it as soon as her father returned from hunting. Whilst waiting for this I inquired of her how I had come into the hut: she told me that her father and brother finding me asleep, had carried me in to secure me from being destroyed by the tigers *, which frequently came quite close to their huts in search of prey. The father and brother soon after made their appearance, and welcomed me with many marks of kindness, and meal, milk, and meat were plentifully given me. The evening was now come on, and going out of the hut, I sat down amidst a circle of inquisitive inhabitants, all eager to listen to the relation of my various adventures, which I gave them; and when I had finished, all the different articles of food were brought me in profusion by many: the whole of which I accepted of, and carefully deposited in the hut.

On the 21st I again set forward, furnished with a supply of provision sufficient for two days. Towards noon I reached a few huts situated on an arm of the river Zambeze. From hence, after resting myself for a short time, I crossed the frontiers into the kingdom

* It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that tigers seldom attack Europeans, unless their fury be provoked by something previously. The Africans seldom escape their violence, as I have seen in many instances. The grease with which most of the natives of Africa smear their bodies, is the most probable way of accounting for this distinction; the smell it causes attracting these beasts.

of Yukodego, in maps denominated Monœmugi, and in about an hour arrived at the village of Avikana.

The kingdom of Yukodego †, or Monœmugi, is in extent about seventeen days journey from south to north, and thirteen from west to east, forming an oblong quadrangle. To the east it borders on Abyssinia, to the south on the kingdom of Monomotapa, westward on that of Maffi, and northwards on Manyas, the dominions of king Moyapher. The town of Yukera stands on the river Zambece, which, just beyond it, dividing into five branches, intersects the entire territory; and at the distance of about half a day's journey from the city of Zambre, spreads into an extensive lake, called from the city the lake of Zambre. A double chain of mountains stretches across the country from north to south; clothed with wide-spreading forests, the terrific retreats of innumerable savage beasts. Salt-petre might be procured in great quantities from these mountains, and form a profitable branch of traffic, were not the inhabitants too indolent to use any exertion for that purpose. The intense heats and sandy nature of the soil in a great measure prevents the growth of the grass; nor do the fruit trees grow to any degree of perfection: many of these which flourish in other parts of Africa are totally unknown here. Water-melons, gourds, turkish corn, millet, and peas which grow on a particular kind of tree, are almost the only vegetable productions of the country fit for food. Abundance of fish, including tortoises, are to be found here; particularly in the lake which I just now mentioned. Buffaloes and sheep are not bred by the inhabitants; these they procure from the Monomotapans in exchange for skins, ivory, and sometimes salt-petre in small quantities. There are two distinct races of the natives: the first called Masohomi, who are the most ancient inhabitants, and are distinguished by wearing palm-leaf aprons, plaiting their hair, paying implicit

† Yukodego was the name of the reigning prince when I visited that kingdom, and I there heard this name given to the country itself.

obedience to their priests, and never marrying out of their own tribe: the second are the Yukodego, or Mönemugians, who go entirely naked, wear their hair long and flowing, have flat noses, projecting lips, and small eyes. Like their neighbours the Massianes, they indent divers figures on their cheeks with the bones of fishes or of birds, sharpened. Both tribes are of middle stature, speak the same language, and are equally brave soldiers and good hunters, when they choose to exert themselves; but they are so given up to sloth, that they frequently remain lying entire days in their huts totally inactive. Their huts are of a circular form, composed of woven rushes and covered with palm-leaves. When these are to be repaired it is executed by the women, who also perform what little degree of tillage they practise. At their marriages the priests use a great deal of mummary, concluding their mystic ceremonies by blessing the couple thus united. It is looked upon as highly criminal for a man to abandon his wife, nor is a separation ever permitted but where there are no children in consequence of the marriage; in that case the woman is no longer respected, and may be sold or bartered as a slave. When marriage-contracts are to be formed, they are conducted in the following manner: After a young man who is inclined to marry has made choice of a bride, he goes to demand her of her parents, by whom he is never rejected unless from some very weighty cause: when thus affianced, the bride does not leave the hut of her parents, but employs herself in weaving rushes for the new abode that is to be prepared for them, whilst the old couple look out for a spot in which to erect it, to which they bring the wood and palm-leaves necessary, and when all is ready rear the habitation. The bridegroom in the mean time is equally busily employed in following the chase with his father, as against the day of marriage, usually the sixth after he has obtained the promise of his bride from her parents, he must produce the skin of some savage animal which had fallen by his hand, together with the carcases of two roebucks for the wedding-feast. The skin of the
wild

wild beast is hung on the new-constructed hut, and the young bridegroom is declared worthy of his bride, and received into the class of married men. If he have failed to bring home the expected trophy on the first day fixed, the solemnization of the marriage is put off to a more distant one, till he have achieved this act of prowess, and produced the skin of the slaughtered beast as a proof of it. When the wedding-day really arrives, the parents and friends on both sides assemble before sun-rise in front of the new hut, where they kindle a fire, and the two bucks are roasted whole. The young couple must not be present whilst these preparations are making, but stay, accompanied by the priest, till summoned by the guests when the meat is sufficiently roasted; and they are then led round the fire, the company attending them with songs of joy. The priest then taking a stalk of maize in each hand, comes forward to the fire, and raising his voice in a kind of scream, in which he is joined by all present. Having with these vociferations walked in a sort of procession three times round the new hut and the fire in front of it, a circle is formed about the fire, and the priest lays the two stalks of maize over it to roast, and when done gives one to each of the young couple, who eat some grains off it, and then the remainder is distributed amongst the rest of the circle. The grain thus prepared by the priest, is meant as emblematical of the fruitfulness of the marriage state of the young couple, who it is supposed are to have as many children as there remain grains on the stalk when delivered to them by the priest. That distributed to the other guests, is meant to express the union which is to subsist to the latest posterity between their descendants and those of the new-married pair, as close as that which is now exhibited in the circle. All now sit down, and the roasted animals are set before the priest, who cutting out the hearts presents them to the bride and bridegroom; and then every one present carve for themselves, and eat as much as they choose. This repast over, the whole of the night is spent by all the

company in dancing and merriment; and thus ends the marriage festival.

A husband may keep as many concubines as he pleases; but a woman detected in too familiar an intercourse with any other than her husband, is punished with death. Few men have more than one wife, and by her rarely more than three or four children, though they sometimes marry so early as thirteen or fourteen years old. The women do not suffer much in childbirth, and are seldom more than a few hours confined from their usual occupations on those occasions. Both boys and girls remain under the care of the mothers till they have attained their sixth year; the boys are then instructed by the priests in points of knowledge, and attend their fathers in the chase to acquire bodily strength and agility. The girls still continue with their mothers, the instruction of the priests not being deemed necessary for them. Their religion is paganism; the sun and moon the objects of their worship. Festivals are celebrated every new moon; as likewise on occasion of victories over enemies, the election of a new king, or when the community has been benefited by the destruction of a mischievous beast of prey. The king is absolute, and has an uncontrollable power over the life and death of his subjects; to resist his authority in any respect is reckoned the most flagrant breach of the laws. If even a slight offence excites his wrath so much that he dooms the offender to death, should any one express regret or wonder at it, if the priest tells them it is the will of the gods, all murmurs cease, and the culprit meets his fate even with joy.

The king supports a great degree of state in his retinue and mode of removing from place to place. He never goes on the shortest excursion without five or six elephants led in his train; and when he makes a progress through any distant part of his kingdom, he is mounted on a buffalo finely caparisoned, and led by two of his most trusty servants; in town he generally rides on a zebra; and is always attended by a guard of officers

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on foot, ten on each side. Although the priests have great power over the minds of the people, yet they are not permitted to intermeddle in affairs of government. Every man is a foldier; so that the military force amounts to between forty and fifty thousand infantry, and has the reputation of being a very valiant body: they use the war-buffalo in battle: with the neighbouring nations they are in a constant state of warfare.

Christians are not allowed to enter the country, as they have been accused, and probably with too much reason, of having made some secret attempts to seize on the government: it was upon this account that the Portuguese were driven out in 1763, and all traffic with them absolutely prohibited. All strangers who do not declare themselves Christians may travel in security through the country, certain of being treated with kindness, and are generally well entertained, free of all expence; whilst, on the contrary, those who are known to be Christians, are conveyed guarded from village to village, and must pay for every thing provided for them. Military officers are the judges appointed in all the towns and villages; but they cannot decide in affairs of importance, these being always referred to the king for judgment.

On my arrival at Avakana, I was again surrounded by a crowd of curious spectators eager to see me, but was treated at the same time with great civility. I was asked, by means of an interpreter who understood the Congo language, whether I was a Christian; I answered in the negative: upon which a plentiful supply of water and meal was brought, and an excellent bed prepared for me. From the 22d to the 24th inclusively I found the roads pleasant, and my entertainment in all the villages where I stopped for refreshment or spent the nights was kindly hospitable. On the 25th I arrived on the banks of the lake Zombre, and took up my lodging for the night in the village Keka, which is nine miles west of the city of Zombre.

Here I was received and entertained in the most friendly manner at the hut of the judge, who was a

military officer. He behaved to me with an uncommon degree of politeness; for on finding I understood the Congo language, he sent to the city expressly for the purpose of procuring an interpreter, that he might converse with me; and when I acquainted him with the design and motives of my journey, offered me his best services in the prosecution of it. He very obligingly had a rush mat placed near his own, on which he pressed me to sleep, and in the morning accompanied me to the town of Zambre, or Zembre.

This town contains about four hundred huts, and from fifty to sixty houses. The former are constructed of timber and straw, the latter built with flint-stones and mortar. The king's palace, as it is called, is of the same materials as the other houses, and stands south-east of the town, and is surrounded by a wall of flints. The town itself stands on the right bank of the river Zambre, is built in a triangular form, and has two principal and three cross streets, and is screened by a wall only on one side, that from west to north. The houses are but one story high, even the palace has no greater elevation. There are eight temples in the town, constructed of wood and rushes; that belonging to the palace is of flints and mortar. The inhabitants are in general slothful to an uncommon degree; never exerting themselves in any kind of labour but on the most pressing emergencies, except the potters and smiths: the latter are mostly employed by the king in making arms for his troops. The palace is of a long quadrangular form; in the court-yard belonging to it, where the weapons of war are stored, a guard of fifty men is stationed, who are, however, employed besides in many different offices. The king occupies but two apartments, situated on the east side of his palace. He has but one wife, who is not permitted to approach him during the day: the two priests attendant on the court temple are equally debarred access to him in the earlier part of the day; which time he devotes to consultations

sultations with his officers * on the military and civil affairs of his kingdom, hearing the complaints, petitions, and remonstrances of his subjects; and conversing with such travellers as visit his capital. In the evenings the priests are admitted to pay their devoirs to the king, but must retire as soon as the queen is announced. None are refused admittance to the royal presence; but strangers must apply for a special permission before he will see them. He is a strict observer of punctilio; of an active and martial character; and is hence looked up to with reverence and awe by those hostile nations, though infinitely superior to his in strength and numbers.

When we entered the town I was challenged by one of the guard, who asked me whence I came. My companion answered, that I was a stranger whom he had brought to introduce to the king; and after a few minutes consideration the man allowed us to pass. I expressed my surprize to the interpreter, who had also come with me, that the guard should hesitate about admitting me when accompanied by an officer; and was by him informed that the guards here possess great authority; and that this man could, in virtue of that authority, have detained me till he should have sent notice to the king of my arrival. On our arrival at the palace another of the guards stopped me, and in spite of the officer's remonstrances refused to let me pass. The officer now went directly to the king, and informed him of my being there; he presently returned, bringing out a piece of wood, on which were some

* Those officers are distinguished from the other inhabitants by their cloaks and turbans, the former made of zebra-skins, the latter that of jackals, and ornamented with bones and shells. When they come, from ceremony or duty, to visit the king, they are entertained at his expence: except this they have no emoluments from him; neither officers nor privates ever receiving any pay: whatever booty each acquires in war is indisputably his own property: in consequence of which, from those places where they have been as enemies, they have constantly brought away every thing which could be of the slightest use; even the corner-poles of the huts.

marks made with a hot iron, and shewed it to my guard, who then set me at liberty, and I was conducted into the palace.

The king advanced to the door of his apartment to meet me, with a large club in his hand, which for a moment gave me a little alarm; but this was soon dissipated on viewing the benevolent expression of his placid countenance; nor had I ever reason from his subsequent conduct to forego any part of that prepossession with which he now inspired me. His hair was plaited and decorated with shells: palm-leaves fastened round his waist, covered the lower part of his person; the upper part was quite naked. He conversed with me through the medium of an interpreter, notwithstanding he knew most of the words of the language in which I spoke:—"Whence comest thou?" was his first question; "that I cannot exactly inform you of," replied I; "the name of the country where I was shipwrecked is unknown to me." "Art thou a Christian?" "No; I am an Egyptian, anxious to get back to my own country." "How long hast thou been travelling thus?"—"Fourteen revolutions of the moon." "Is it the dress of thy own country thou now wearest?"—"No; I had these clothes of the South Caffres." "Hast thou passed through so many nations without peril of thy life?"—"Yes, no person molested me because they saw I was poor; every where the people gave me meat, millet, meal, milk, and water, and received me kindly into their huts, where I slept in security." "So shalt thou do here: but I understand thy language; therefore thou canst not be very distant from thy own country. Thou couldst not understand me were I to speak the language of my country; that I now speak I learned from the king of Angola, who gave me the most gracious reception; took care of me when I was ill, and would not part with me till I was perfectly cured. Thou shalt likewise have my protection and support, as long as thou choolest to stay with me: come, sit thee down." Our conversation was no sooner ended, than a mat was spread for me,

me, on which I sat down, and a cup of milk was then brought me. Having drank this, I was next asked if I was hungry; I answered in the affirmative, and was immediately supplied with some meal. I staid with the king till evening, and was then conducted to a hut contiguous to the palace, where I remained for the night. In the morning I again attended his majesty, who invited me to go with him into what he called his hall, where his treasures were deposited; these he seemed to prize very highly, and displayed with much pleasure, though in reality trifles of no kind of value. They consisted of a few old copper coins, which I suppose might have remained here from the time the Portugeze had been in the country; two looking-glasses; an almanack for the year 1743; a few sheets of printed paper; four little cannon, such as children play with; several other childish Nuremberg toys, with a wooden clock which did not go, and seemed to be past all manner of use. The king, by means of the interpreter, expressed his regret that this machine no longer moved as it had formerly done, though he had taken all possible pains to make it do so.

When I was alone with the interpreter, I told him that if I obtained the king's permission I would endeavour to restore to the clock the motion which he seemed to wish for. Overjoyed with this intelligence, he ran instantly to communicate it to the king; who still more happy, consented that I should try the experiment; but at the same time ordered the interpreter to stay by me all the time I should be thus employed, lest I should take out any part of the work for my own use: I accordingly set about my self-imposed task in the royal apartments, under the inspection of my overseer, but it went very slowly on, owing to my being perfectly unskilled in clock-making. To distinguish the several parts of the mechanism, that I might not be puzzled in putting them together again, I marked each as I took it out with a particular number, which, for want of other paper, I set down in

my journal with pieces of charcoal and red lead. The next morning I went very early to my work, and by the time the king made his appearance had completed it: when, on my setting up the clock, to my great satisfaction and his unspeakable joy, it went extremely well. There was no end of the king's surprize; and he concluded I must be a most extraordinary artist, thus to accomplish so quickly what many of his subjects had attempted in vain!

This circumstance raised me very high in the king's favour, which I found daily increased. My fare was the same as he himself was served with; and I accompanied him wherever he went. In consequence of the privilege of being about his person, I had an opportunity of seeing the lake Zambre in all its extent; as I attended him in an excursion he made thither, for the purpose of looking into the state of the fishery and fowling there. The lake is rather more than three days journey in length, of an oval shape, about half a day's journey over in the broadest part; but at the northern extremity, scarcely more than a mile. About forty small islands are strewn over it, the resorts of innumerable flights of birds, many of which are taken for use: great numbers of their eggs are also procured. There is a guard of two hundred men kept here by the king, to watch over the fish and fowl that are taken, and secure them for his use; but from what I could learn, instead of doing so, they appropriate them to their own, faring on them most daintily themselves. This lake is wrong laid down in most maps, being generally placed partly in the kingdom of Massi; its extent too, by these, is stated to be much greater than it really is. Another mistake is also very common with geographers, who mark out a third kingdom as lying between those of Massi and Monæmagi; but of the existence of such an one I never could gain the least intelligence, notwithstanding I made the strictest enquiries for that purpose.

At whatever place I attended the king, I laid myself out to be as useful to him as I could in matters,

which, though trifling in themselves, were of great value in his eyes. I taught him some of the various methods used in catching fish and birds; few of which he or his subjects knew any thing of. I made him a sundial; and I shewed his attendants how to practise some of the different European arts of cookery, which made his meat eat much more favourily, with other things equally pleasing to him. I formed intimacies with most of the officers, who shewed me every mark of esteem; frequently associating me in their consultations, and endeavouring to persuade me to agree to the king's pressing desire, that I should myself accept of an appointment and become an officer. To attach me still more firmly and permanently to his service, the king had also expressed a wish that I should make choice of a wife amongst his subjects; but I declined all these friendly proposals, at the same time testifying my gratitude. I accompanied the army in three campaigns against their enemies, assisting them both with my personal exertions and my advice: and as those enterprizes in which I was concerned, had been invariably successful, I returned from each with an additional degree of credit and esteem.

As I had made it my study to acquire a proficiency in the language, I could now converse with the king without the intervention of an interpreter, and could suggest many things to him as to public affairs, which might not have been so adviseable to have done in the presence of a third person; when he attended the public worship of his temples, I also went, and folding my hands as he did, joined in the prayers. This led him to suppose that I had conformed to his religion, and of course attached him still more to me, so that he would seldom allow me to be out of his presence: as the highest proof of his partiality for me, he permitted me to eat along with himself when his wife was present. I was never left alone with her however; nor had I the liberty of entering her apartment,

ment, the access to which was prohibited to every man except himself.

After a residence of five months here, I began to feel a most ardent desire for the further prosecution of my travels; accordingly, I took the first favourable opportunity of mentioning it to the king, which occurred on my being ordered to attend him on a hunting party. As we went, I broke my design to him, by saying, "That it was absolutely necessary I should return home for some time, as I feared my friends and relatives might conclude I was dead; and I felt it a duty to quiet their minds on this subject; but that after settling some family affairs, I should return to him, and by devoting the remainder of my life to his service, evince my gratitude for the innumerable benefits he had conferred on me, and which it would never be in my power to repay in any other manner than by the most faithful attachment to his person. He returned me no answer, but appeared struck with an extreme degree of melancholy. In the evening, as we sat together at our repast, he led to the subject by saying, "Thou art then desirous to return to thy own country." "Yes," I replied, "if you will give me permission without exacting a return for the many favours and kindnesses I have received from you." "Thou owest me nothing," returned he; "for I promised thee all the hospitality it was in my power to shew; but I should be very happy if thou wouldst remain with me." I again stated my reasons for wishing to go: upon which he said, "Thou mayest depart when thou wilt; and I will give thee a safe convoy through my dominions, to secure to thee a favourable reception in every part of them where thou shalt pass. But I trust thou wilt return as soon as possibly thou canst, and then thou shalt have the first place in my friendship." I expressed my thanks in the warmest terms; after which he enquired how soon I proposed to set out; and when I told him I should wish to go within three days, he gave immediate orders that on the day preceding my departure a Chamois

goat should be hunted, and the hind quarters dressed for me to carry with me.

On the 28th of May, 1787, I took leave of my kind friend, who was deeply affected at parting with me, as were most of my acquaintance. An attendant accompanied me, to carry my provisions, and to conduct me in safety over the Akmah-mountains, which are very much infested with lions. They lie to the northward from the capital, and in that line I directed my course. We passed through Serra and Mahar on the first day, two ill-built villages situated at the bottom of these mountains; and proceeding half way up one of the steeps, took up our lodging at Yelloh, a hamlet consisting of about ten or twelve huts. The inhabitants live but very poorly; the surrounding country producing very little, and they are obliged to bring their water from a valley at a league's distance. They entertained us, however, with roasted tortoise, together with some meal and water.

In the forenoon of the 29th, we came to a place where salt-petre works were carrying on, and in which we found ten men employed: I examined the pit with attention, and perceived the finest kind of this mineral to the depth of two fathom from the surface. About fourscore paces further on, I was shewn a hot spring, which flowed from the mountain of a reddish colour, and emitting a sulphureous smell. Here we rested for some time; and then ascending another part of the ridge towards evening, reached the village Etaham on its northern declivity, in which I reckoned about a hundred and forty huts. From this height we looked down upon a fine plain, which stretched beneath us to the extent of three leagues, covered with rushes, and abounding in fruit-trees; and to the west watered by an arm of the river Zambece, which from thence winds amongst the mountains. The inhabitants of the village where we now were, are obliged to bring all the water they use from this river; which in the months of June and July overflows its banks, laying all the country for a good way round under water.

water. Previous to these inundations, the inhabitants dig holes in the earth at no great distance from their huts, as reservoirs from which they may be supplied for some time after the water returns within its usual bounds. We were entertained but very badly, by the *avollo* (priest) who allowed us no other couch on which to pass the night but the bare ground. In the morning my guide left me to return home, and I pursued my way across the plain.

I had not proceeded far before I discovered the village Muf at no great distance before me, and was just congratulating myself on being free from all manner of danger, when suddenly my ears were saluted with a dreadful howling behind me, and turning round, I beheld a head of cattle galloping after me, pursued by a large pack of wild dogs. Terrified at this sight, I exerted all my strength and speed to escape from these tremendous brutes, and happily succeeded by reaching the village, where, immediately on my entering, exhausted by anxiety and fatigue, I sunk breathless to the ground, and it was a full hour before I recovered from my stupor. The inhabitants thronged to my assistance with every mark of compassion; and on my relating to them the cause of my alarm, told me, that, in this district I should be often liable to such disasters, as in the rainy seasons, when the rivers overflow, the calitzes retire to the higher grounds, whither they are followed by the dogs; and that season being now come, this removal had commenced. On further enquiring how long it was usual for the dogs to continue in their neighbourhood; I learned that it would be yet two entire moons before they would quit it. I now began to deliberate whether it would be most advisable for me to remain where I was during that term, or to venture onwards; and I sincerely regretted that I had not, before leaving the good king my benefactor, informed myself more fully of all the circumstances attending my journey, and thus have been induced to spend two months longer with him.

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On the succeeding morning, however, I decided on going forwards; and after having consumed the last of the provisions which had been furnished me by the king, I set out. I carefully surveyed the country all round, and concluded that it would be my best course to go round by the eastward of a forest which lay before me. On the direct road I should have had the inconvenience of three villages which I might have stopped at, but then I must of necessity have traversed a part of the forest. That night I was obliged to pass amidst the branches of a tree, without once venturing to sleep, lest I should have tumbled to the ground. Early in the morning I descended from my lurking place, and proceeded in search of some refreshing thing, but could not discover one. I then allayed my present thirst with tamarinds; but in a short time found they produced the contrary effect, and my mouth became parched, that I could with pleasure have drunk the most putrid water; but even this was not to be had. I was now become so enfeebled that I could only creep slowly along, and every moment expected to have been attacked and devoured by wild dogs. At every step I groaned with fatigue and terror; appalled by the rattling of such an innumerable multitude of baboons as I had never before seen, and which made me believe the dogs were close at my heels.

Without injury, however, but faint and dispirited, towards evening I reached a village called Himogu. Here I determined to stay till I should recover from my prostration and fatigue, never in the least doubting that I should meet with the most cordial welcome, as I had to produce the piece of wood with burned marks, which I had received from the king, with a view to secure me of it, wherever I should go within the limits of his dominions. I met with a repulse, however, at the first and second huts to which I came; and it was not without the most earnest entreaties that I was received into the third. In every part of the village through which I passed, a throng of the curious inhabitants followed me; the children in particular surrounded

rounded me, crying *solleboa! solleboa!* (a Christian! Christian!) The supper allotted me was some very unfavourable meal with muddy water; and the lodging place to which I was shewn, a narrow hut, with four or twenty goats as my companions, who did not seem at all pleased with the intruder; for they did nothing but bound about, and play a thousand gambols in every corner the whole night through, as if resolved I should not have a moment's rest.

I very early quitted my miserable couch, more wearied than when I had lain down; but just as I was ready to go out on my way to the larger hut, a violent shower of rain came on, accompanied by a tempestuous wind. I re-entered the hovel, and stood contemplating my bedfellows, and deliberating where I was next to bend my course; when I was roused from my meditations by two violent peals of thunder, which quickly succeeded each other. I now looked out at the door to observe whether the storm was likely soon to blow over, when I beheld my host, with his whole family issuing from the hut, terror painted in their countenances; when got into the open air, they prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground, each screaming out, "*ollihau yungo gohlibiny!*" (Gods! plunge us not into the abyss!) Ill at ease as I was, I could not help smiling at this scene of dismay; and going towards them as soon as the thunder died away, they arose and came to meet me, enquiring whether I had also been praying to my Gods. "That I do every day," replied I, "but I am not alarmed by stormy weather, for I know it to be sometimes good for my health." "Oh! but should the Gods be angry, and strike thee with thunder, would that too be good for thy health?" said they. "The Gods will not do so," returned I, "whilst I obey their laws, and respect the commands of the king; but ye will be punished, because ye have transgressed both." This had an instantaneous effect: my host, after looking at me for a short time; advanced and took me by the hand, and leading me into his hut, laid before me the best breakfast I could

afford, consisting of some goat's milk, indian
and a piece of broiled tortoise, and added a re-
that I would stay and spend the whole day with
I accepted his good fare, but declined his invita-
and having finished my repast, and replenished
water-pouch, I departed in a northern direction.
I visited in my way three thinly inhabited villages;
in the fourth, equally so, stopped to pass the night.
I was here better entertained than I expected to be, for
seven huts of which it consisted, and which contained
not thirty inhabitants, looked miserably on the out-
side and within, exhibited every mark of poverty;
never, I got as much broiled tortoise as I chose to
eat some meal, and excellent water; and when re-
quiring to rest, a couch was carefully spread for me of
palm-leaves, on which I slept most comfort-
ably.

The next day I determined to make a day of
it by staying with my friendly entertainers. I walked
with my host, a good-natured young man, to a neigh-
bouring plain, where in a short time I found four tor-
tises, two of which were dressed on our return; the
other two were kept carefully for my journey.

From the 2d to the 5th of June, I journeyed over a
desert without meeting a single human being; but
found fruit trees in abundance, with very good wa-
ter, nor was I annoyed with wild beasts. Thus being
supplied with both food and drink for refreshment at
short intervals, I found my strength so recruited, that
in those four days I was able to travel from eight and
twenty to thirty German miles. I looked on all sides,
I went, for villages, but not one could I discover;
and afterwards learned that had I even extended my
journey to a much wider circumference, I should have
found but very few, as that northern part of the coun-
try through which I was now travelling is almost desti-
tute of inhabitants.

In the evening of the 5th I arrived at a place called
Laru, where are about fourscore huts, built so wide
apart that it takes half an hour to walk from one ex-
tremity to the other. As I advanced towards them, all
those

those of the inhabitants who happened to be straggled about, after gazing at me wildly for some time, away. I shewed the wooden order for hospitality which I had received from the king, but it did not seem to produce any effect, for no one offered me any accommodations. At length I approached, and gave it into the hands of an old man, who, after looking at it, delivered it to the person next him; he to another, and on till it came to the last of the company; he, on receiving it, with the rest took to flight, and left me standing by myself. After waiting some time to try what would be the result, I too ran forward, to demand a token, but before I had quite reached the huts, I saw several people coming to meet me, some of whom brought me pure milk, others milk mingled with water; meat and meal were also presented me in such abundance, that I had soon a stock of provisions which might have served me for a week. Sitting down opposite to the hut next me, I regaled on the provisions I had received, and swallowed repeated draughts of the milk. All present seemed astonished at the avidity with which I devoured so large a quantity of the provisions, and offered to bring me more; but as I had still a great deal remaining, I prevented them, expressing a desire now rather to be shewn a hut where I might go to sleep: upon this, several offered their services to conduct me, and I arose and followed them. I was conducted to the priest of the place, who received me with the kindest welcome, had a good couch prepared for me, but prevented my going to rest till midnight, by the multiplicity of questions he put to me, as, whence I came, whither I was going, if I was a Christian, had I seen the king; with many others.

On the 6th a party of six men were to set out for Gohamy, with some buffaloes loaded with pottery ware; they invited me to go with them, which I readily consented to do. The beasts were heavy laden, which obliged us to go on at a very slow rate, so that it was late in the evening when we reached Gohamy. My companions set up some stalls on a green space in the

of the village, where they spread out their goods for sale. I lay down by them for the night, and was undisturbed. This village is situated in a beautiful valley; it consists of near a hundred huts, and by the commodiousness and neatness of these structures the traveller may judge of the industry and prosperity of the inhabitants. In the morning I examined the articles of earthen-ware which my companions had brought; they were by no means to be compared with those made in Europe. The vessels are clumsily formed, rubbed over with a kind of lacker, which is nothing more than the juice of palm and tamarind-tree leaves, and then dried in the sun. They are something like our garden-pots, except that they are of equal size at top and bottom, and have a long projecting handle which rises above the brim: there were also some plates and dishes, very ill made.

On that same day, the 7th, I left my fellow-travellers, and ascended the frontier mountains; these consist of two ranges, forming a semicircle from east to west; and one of them appear to have crowns, as if of second order rising above them. I crossed them in an oblique direction, but only got over the first range, and that with extreme difficulty. In the evening I arrived at Karam, and was received and kindly treated by the chief, who is called overseer, and who is likewise a military officer. As there were frequent and heavy rains, he complied with his request to prolong my stay; at the end of three days I took leave of him, presenting him with a gilder as a token of my gratitude. For another which I gave him I had change in return, consisting of one hundred shells. Before I set out I enquired how much further I had to travel before I should reach the frontiers, and was informed that it was scarcely a days journey to Kohlogom, which was the last village belonging to this territory.

C H A P. X.

The author arrives at the first frontier huts of the Moohatans.—Sketch of the history and description of that nation.—As the rainy season has commenced, he is compelled to stay for some time, under very unpleasant circumstances, in the village of Mytoh.—Sets out from thence with buffalo-drivers, who were going into the kingdom of Otoba.—Travels from the territory of Mosseguejos, on the east side of the kingdom of Monœmugi, which lies between Otoba; crosses the river Druma; passes through the frontier village Nahvat; comes up with a war-troop belonging to the Kinonians.—Separates from his fellow-travellers; ascends the great mountain to the west; and arrives among the Mophanians, who dwell in caves.—Is finally received by them, and presented to their king.—Gives an account of that nation; their customs, manners, quality of the soil, and form of government.—Of the king, his religion, and various uncommon productions of the country.—Its geography ascertained, and maps corrected.—The author's design to travel with a caravan to Guinea, and from thence return to Europe.—Pursues his journey through the villages of Ohgothen, Uhvoh, and Matoh, to Omoroh, the residence of the king.—Is placed among the king's slaves.—Makes his escape.—Travels over the deserts, ascends the mountains of the moon, and comes to the Vomahianians.

ON the 11th I left the mountains behind me, and reached Kohlogomay, the village mentioned in my last chapter, which contains two-and-twenty huts. After resting here for a couple of hours I travelled onwards, and in the evening crossed the borders; after which I reached a few huts, the first in the territory, inhabited by the Moohatans. This is a populous and warlike nation, who dwell on a tract of land which belongs to the kingdom of Monœmugi, and are subject to its king. They formerly inhabited another country.

country, under the dominion of the king of Muschko; but he attempting to force his brother on them as sovereign, with a view of oppressing them still further, the latter being a very cruel prince, they revolted, and inviting some other nations also under his rule to join them, they defeated and slew him. The king, his brother, enraged at this, marched an army against these confederates, vowing to inflict the severest chastisement on them; but he was quickly repulsed. Still more incensed, he levied a much greater force, with a fixed determination entirely to extirpate this rebellious people: they waited not his approach, however, but flying, implored the protection of another monarch. Thus the Mohootans, in the year 1728, became subject to the king of Monœmugi, who granted them this wretched district on the borders of his dominions, where rugged mountains and unfruitful valleys present themselves alternately to the eye. Their country extends about two days journey in length, and is inhabited by about sixteen thousand souls. They have adopted the manners of their present masters in many instances.

They pay no tribute, but are bound to assist the king with succours in time of war, and to defend those frontiers where they reside from hostile attacks. They have chiefs, who are called *bingpo*, and are always selected from amongst their oldest men; these do not lead them in the field, but delegate the command to younger persons. It is most probable this nation obtained its present name from the king of Monœmugi, when he first took them under his protection; as in the language of that country *moohata* signifies stranger.

I spent two days in this village, during which time I was plentifully supplied with provisions, but was not admitted into a single hut, the inhabitants being again that I was a Christian. On the 14th I proceeded but about three leagues further, where I stopped at a few huts; as the waters, which in the rainy seasons flow down from the mountains, had now collected into a sort of lake which nearly covered all the plain,

plain, I requested shelter for a few days from the inhabitants of these sequestered huts, offering to pay them each day sixty gawers or shells: to these terms they readily agreed, and here I took up my lodging till the 24th. It rained almost incessantly during the first days of my stay; the wind blew in gusts from the north; and the water rose considerably. I saw numbers of calitzes swimming about in different parts, at length, unable to bear up any longer, they were drowned. I was informed by the inhabitants, that sometimes of the heavy rains numbers of these are generated and borne by the torrent down the mountains, where they are thus carried to and fro through the water at the feet. A singular circumstance here struck my observation, that in all the violence of the storms of rain and wind, the sky, instead of being overclouded with blackness, assumed a fiery red. I became at length weary of lingering here in idleness, particularly as I was confined to a small hovel amongst some goats, being permitted to enter any of the larger habitations and most days seeing no human being but an old woman, who brought me the scanty pittance of meal and sour milk allotted me; and not unfrequently I was deprived of even this refreshment; for my attendant always set down what she brought me on the ground, at the threshold of the hovel, and then disappeared with her utmost speed; so that if any of the goats, who, as well as myself, fared but sparingly, happened to be nearer the spot than myself, they would seize on the meal, and leave me to fast.

On the 24th, then, I took leave of my unpleasant quarters, and walked up to my middle in water for a length of way, till, after much fatigue and no inconsiderable degree of peril, I gained the summit of a hill situated midway between the huts I had left and the village Mytob. I rested here for an hour, and viewed with attentive eye the district which stretched around me. I then again set forwards, and without having suffered any material injury arrived at Mytob. The inhabitants received me kindly, but were much dis-

prized at my temerity in venturing through the waters. I staid here till the 19th of the following month, as inevitable death must have attended any attempt to proceed further, to such a height had the floods risen. After the interval of a few days I perceived a total change in the behaviour of the inhabitants towards me; they lost all that respect which they had at first shewn me, and I was thrust to the furthest extremity of the hut in which I lodged, where I was again obliged to associate only with goats. As this part was very loosely constructed, the rain entered it in all directions, and I was for an entire week literally drenched in water. I was, in consequence, attacked with a fever; and, to add to my misery, the people, believing my disorder contagious, drove me without mercy from corner to corner, and at length threatened to turn me out even from this poor shelter, lest the animals with whom I shared it should be infected.

This village consists of six-and-thirty huts, with a temple; to the latter of which, as the natives informed me, pilgrimages are made from every part of the country within a circuit of thirty days journey round. On the spot where it stands, it is believed, the assassins who had murdered the holy king Amahratas of Yaga were shortly after struck dead by thunderbolts, and thence the veneration in which it is held *. The huts themselves

* I cannot vouch for the truth of this story, which is related in various ways; the following the most general: The king of Yaga having waged war against this country, had taken prisoner and put to death the king of Moncemugi; at setting out on this expedition he had given orders to his soldiers, that they should put to the sword every one of the enemy whom they should meet, not even sparing the children. This was supposed to be meant as a retaliation on the Moncemugians, who having taken a number of his army prisoners had roasted them alive. He had sent the main body of his army forward, and was himself following, attended by a small escort, when some of the fugitive Moncemugians, who had taken refuge in the caves and forests, on hearing these directions of the hostile king, perceiving him now weakly guarded, pursued and took him prisoner, with his handful of followers, and, having deliberated for some time, put him

selves now appeared to me as if in danger of being laid under water, as the whole region round, as far as the eye could reach, was overflowed by an arm of the river Druma, the floods of which had risen to a tremendous height. Fortunately however the weather changed; the sun shone forth, and kindly breezes revived the face of nature. I offered my host two gilders, in return for my accommodation, bad as it was; but these he refused, from ignorance of their use and value: I then presented him with a hundred shells, which were much more acceptable to him.

On the 19th a great number of travellers with buffaloes arrived at the village. They were on their way from Mossaguejos, a country lying to the eastward of Monœmugi, to the kingdom of Otoba, for the purpose of bringing back salt. These people had been represented to me in the horrid light of cannibals; but from every observation I could make, the aspersions were totally void of foundation. On finding that they, as well as myself, were bound to the northward, I asked permission to join their company, which was readily granted; and at dawn of day on the 20th the whole train began to move, the buffaloes in front coupled together. After an hour's travelling we reached the banks of the river I just now mentioned; here I was seated on the back of a buffalo, and was thus conveyed safely across. We then wound round a mountain to the east, that we might avoid a sandy plain which lay before us, and soon arrived at Nahvet, a village consisting

him to death, and threw the body on a large fire, and there left it to consume, hastening away lest they should be made prisoners in their turn. The army having waited in vain for their king, a force was dispatched back in search of him, who soon found his ill-fated remains. Shocked at this spectacle, they used all diligence to find the perpetrators of the horrid deed; when, coming to the place where now this temple stands, they found all the murderers dead, except one, who was also dangerously hurt: he survived however to relate the whole transaction; concluding with the acknowledgment, that he and his companions had thus been justly punished by the Gods for the murder of so pious a king.

sisting of sixty huts. Here, according to my usual practice, I asked for something to eat; but my request was not complied with, the inhabitants not having a sufficiency for themselves; I was therefore obliged to be satisfied with a draught of clean water. This is a frontier village of the kingdom of Monœmugi, where to the left the kingdom of Muschako, and to the right that of Otaba begin. Soon after leaving it we crossed another river, and halted for the night on a mountain, where I made amends for my long fast by regaling on two tortoises.

The preceding day we had seen no savage animals, but we were now arrived in a region where they abounded; in the night, during our rest on the mountain, we were visited both by wolves and tigers, and in the morning several lions approached us very near. My fellow travellers were much disconcerted by this, and it was with some difficulty I could prevail on them to rally their scattered spirits. These were very poor people, living wholly on roots and fruits, and as this was a season in which no fruits were to be found they were often obliged to fast for entire days. They told me that twice in every year they perform this journey, during which they have sundry difficulties to surmount and dangers to encounter; obliged to defend themselves from wild beasts, and to elude the snares or combat against the violence of robbers.

Towards noon we overtook a military party of the Kinonians, whose country in maps is called Bamba. They were armed with javelins and battle-axes, and gave us an account of the occasion of their present expedition. About twelve days before the Otobanes had marched against them, spreading devastation in their way, having burned several villages, and slain upwards of a hundred of their people; but, having now raised a sufficient force, they were prepared to meet them, determined to inflict on them that chastisement they merited. When they had left us I consulted my companions, whether, as a stranger, I should run any risk in travelling through the territory of those Otobanes

banes I had heard mentioned. They strongly advised me against entering it if I would travel in security; that as long as I travelled with their caravan I had nothing to fear; but they had now but two days journey to whence they were to bring their salt, after which I should be obliged to proceed alone. For the remainder of this day I continued with them, and we did not pass through any villages; on the succeeding morning I took leave of them, turning westward towards a ridge of mountains not far distant, as most of the low grounds were still covered with water. In the course of this day I saw neither man nor beast, nor did the stony soil over which I passed produce either fruit or root; so that at night I was obliged to stretch myself on one of the rocky cliffs to endeavour to rest, with out any means of satisfying the cravings of hunger.

On the following, the 23d day, as I descended the further extremity of the mountains, I met eight men who were returning from the chase. On perceiving me they seemed eager to hurry on; but, impelled by the hope that by their means I might be enabled to satisfy the hunger with which I was tormented, I called after them; to my great joy they stopped till I came up to them; when they asked me what I wanted, who I was, with some other questions of the same nature. Having listened to the answers I returned to these questions, they turned about, as if to leave me, having first eyed my dress with some marks of surprize; but I entreated they would take me with them, to which, after some hesitation, they consented. They then led the way to the west side of the mountain, where I perceived a multitude of people assembled, but not a single hut. My surprize at this circumstance, however, was soon over, on their conducting me into a commodious cavern, and shewing me fifty of the same kind of habitations contiguous to each other. I joined them in their supper, which consisted of roots and water, with a very small proportion of flesh-meat, and then laid myself down for the night. Early in the morning a voice at the mouth of the
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the cavity in which I had slept called to me to come forth: I did so; and when I had got on the outside my breakfast was presented me, consisting of some meal and water.

A crowd of inquisitive people now collected around me, to look at and interrogate me; and I was again obliged to answer all the questions which I had done the preceding evening, with many others, and to contradict the various assertions brought forward concerning me. Some affirmed that I was a Christian; others contended that I must be a Mahometan; whilst a third party expressed their belief that I was a runaway slave; each supporting the opinion he advanced by reasons which he supposed conclusive. It was proposed, and assented to by many, that I should be sent to their king Moyaphar*; others, amongst which number were most of the women, thought it would be better to detain me here, as I was so white and handsome: finally, a few gave it as their judgment, that most probably I was a spy from some nation, and might soon be followed by numbers of my countrymen; that therefore, for their own security, they ought to put me to death, and thus strike an awe into those who should come after me. To my infinite relief this last proposition was rejected: one old man particularly exerted himself in my behalf; and concluded by saying, "Let us supply the stranger with food, treat him with hospitality, and then suffer him to depart in peace:" then, turning to me, he inquired whither I meant to go: I answered, into Egypt; and added, that it had not been my original intention to come into that country; but hearing, some days since, that two of the neighbouring nations were engaged in a war, I had turned aside, out of my direct line, to travel amongst a people from whom I was certain of not meeting with any molestation. I then entreated he would

* So is the king called who reigns over this country, marked in maps under the denomination of Maheko. I never heard the proper name of the country itself pronounced; at any time when I heard the nation mentioned they were always called the Mophanians.

would procure me permission to proceed on my journey. "That thou wilt soon obtain," returned he; "but thou must first be conveyed to our king, to whom thou mayest thyself make known thy desire; at present come with me into my cave, and partake of what fare I can give thee." I was so vastly pleased with this benevolent old man that I passed three days with him; and, when taking leave, presented him with a gilder, as a proof of my gratitude; which, though unacquainted with its value, he accepted with an uncommon degree of satisfaction.

The king of this country is absolute, and possesses an extensive tract of territory, its length from east to west being ten days journey, its breadth seven from north to south. In many parts it is mountainous; but a much greater proportion stretches into vallies rich with fertility, the products of which, however, are turned to small account by the inhabitants. In one of the northern mountains is a gold mine; but the king will not allow it to be worked by his own subjects, choosing in preference to farm it to his neighbour, the king of Mohopharo, for an annual stipend. Timber grows here to great perfection, and in large quantities; and animals of all kinds also abound: it seems in particular the native soil of the Zebra, the flesh of which is eaten as a choice delicacy. There are a great variety of fruit-trees, the most uncommon of which are the *domo*, and the *inkohak*; the former bears a kind of apple, but without pippins; it is of a golden hue, about the size of a hen's egg, and in taste not unlike a lemon; the leaves are long and narrow, or spear-shaped: it is found upon the mountains, and grows to about the height of the cherry-tree; the bark resembles that of the cinnamon, and, as well as the fruit, is carefully preserved throughout the year, and used medicinally as a strengthener. The *inkohak* is a species of nut, but very large, in both size and shape resembling a hen's egg; it is covered with a husk of a fine red colour, which I think might answer well as a dye-stuff: the earthen-ware I observed coloured with it,

it, and its brightness was not at all impaired by the fire: the kernel of the nut is white, and has a flavour of cinnamon. The tree itself is as large as our oaks, and is the whole year through covered at the same time with both fruits and blossoms: the leaves are the same shape as those of the fig-tree, but are much larger.

In time of war the king is able to bring into the field an army of near fourteen thousand good soldiers. The inhabitants are too slothful to build huts or houses even of the smallest kind; the generality of them therefore live in caves or holes of the earth. The king, as most of the sovereigns of the country do, lives in a style of great pomp, which is supported at much expence: whenever he appears in public he is attended by a guard of fifty officers, called *kolomays*: all his officers are either sons of the royal concubines, or persons who have eminently distinguished themselves in the field; they are so numerous that their proportion to the privates is as one to six. To the eldest man of each family is submitted the arbitration of all disputes which may arise amongst the members of it.

The king has the sole disposal of every thing his subjects possess, not excepting their wives; for any of those which please him he immediately sends, and the husband attends her to him, to return thanks for the mighty honour conferred on him. Young women who possess any degree of beauty must all be presented to the king before they are married; and it is looked upon as a very high mark of royal favour to any of his officers when he bestows on him one of his eight hundred concubines, if she no longer pleases him. The king is much addicted to superstition, in which he is still more confirmed by his priests, five or six of whom are constantly about his person. The prevailing influence of the priesthood here is no less injurious to the state than in many parts of Europe. Access to the king's concubines is prohibited every man under pain of death, the priests alone excepted.

A long scarlet cloak, made of an inferior kind of cloth, is generally a part of the king's dress; and he always wears a sword by his side. The soldiery in general wear swords also, with a shorter kind of cloak made of goat's hair. There is not a single town nor village, such as are seen in the other countries of Africa, throughout this whole kingdom, the inhabitants for the most part living in caverns, such as I have before mentioned, with the exception of a very few, who erect tents, and these are placed at a considerable distance from each other; near the king's cave only, or about his tent when in camp, are any number of either seen together: about a hundred habitations always surround him wherever that is fixed. They change their places of residence several times in the course of each year, changing generally to where water is most convenient, and the soil at the season most productive. Their chief articles of food are millet and Indian corn: they use goat's milk, but have no great quantity of it; their religion is Paganism; they worship the sun and moon, and their public religious services are performed beneath the open sky; the people forming a circle round the priest, who repeats the prayers, during which he and the whole congregation often prostrate themselves to the earth. There are no temples in any part of the country. No man, except the king and the priests, is allowed to have more than one wife: and it is a rarity for a married couple to have more than four or five children, they are so phlegmatic. They know nothing of circumcision; nor is any kind of ceremony practised at the birth of children. Their dead are, for the most part, buried on the summits of mountains, or deposited beneath heaps of stones, with their faces turned towards the east: meat, which has been previously blessed by the priest, is put into the grave with them. The men are much more indolent than the women; except when engaged in hunting, they seldom rouse themselves from a state of total inaction, stretched at their lengths in their caverns. The women, on the contrary,

contrary, are generally employed; they weave tents, and cloaks of goat's hair*; dry the skins of animals, make vessels of earthen-ware, and perform all the domestic offices. Their pottery and dressed skins form articles of traffic with other nations, from whom they receive iron-work in exchange.

Their language is very nearly similar to that spoken in Congo, except that the *o* is used in place of the *a* of the latter, with some very slight variations; the same idiom prevails as far as the river Niger. Children here are instructed by the priests, who give their lessons twice a day in the open air.

On the 26th I took leave of my kind host, and, attended by a guide, set out towards the residence of the king. We directed our course to the north-west, crossing several mountains which intersected the plain through which our path lay. These steeps were inhabited by Mophanians; who, on being told I was a stranger on my way to the king, allowed me to pass on without molestation. In the afternoon my guide left me to return home, having previously directed me to follow the straight line before me. As the waters however had not yet run off the lower grounds, I was sometimes obliged to take a circuitous track. Early in the evening I arrived amidst some caverns, in which dwelt about twenty persons; these immediately concluded me to be a slave belonging to the king of Haphai,† who had been dispatched on some message to their own king; and as this character of ambassador seemed to give me consequence in their eyes, I did not endeavour to undeceive them; and they treated me with great kindness, with a view, as I found, that I might

* The hair of these animals here is as fine as silk; whilst on the contrary, from the Cape to the deserts, the wool of the sheep is hard, like dog's hair, and is very little used.

† This kingdom in maps is marked under the denomination of Mahoko, sometimes that of Atziko; but it is placed much more to the south than this I speak of, which however must be the same.

I might make a favourable representation of them to the king. They gave me an ample supply of meal blended in milk and water, made a soft couch of skins for me to sleep on, and next day conducted me some miles on my way.

As the floods were yet far from being entirely subsided, I was obliged, with much risque and difficulty, to swim across two rivers. Lions also impeded my progress, as several approached me with very threatening aspects, so that I was frequently forced to seek refuge by climbing up trees, and there remaining till the danger was past; some even followed me close to the mouths of caves, which were inhabited by the natives; and though pursued from thence with shouts and noise, retreated but very slowly. To the east of the road I now pursued runs a chain of mountains, which extends in a serpentine line to the banks of the Niger: I ascended a path which runs along one side of these steeps, where I saw salt-petre in great abundance; there was also some gold and copper ore; but scarcely a single tree to be met with; the inhabitants of the surrounding country are therefore obliged to use rushes instead of timber as fences to their dwellings, these they pile up in large heaps at the mouths of their caverns.

At the distance of about half a day's journey from the royal residence I came to a village, as it might be called, consisting of many of these caverns together. I applied first to the priest, with a request that he would entertain me for the night, but he peremptorily refused me admission into his habitation; and, pointing to a heap of rushes at its entrance, said I might sleep there. I then went with the same petition to some others, but was equally unsuccessful. At length an old man, for the recompence of fifty zimpos, gave me some meal and flesh-meat, and would have received me into his cave, had he not learned that the priest had rejected me from his. Depressed and out of humour, I threw myself on some rushes, where I slept but little,

little, and at a very early hour in the morning arose and pursued my journey.

It was near noon when I reached the king's residence, which was at present in a camp, situated on the rise of a hill. I was immediately conducted to the royal tent; when the king, an athletic young man, advancing to meet me, accosted me, asking himself the usual questions, whence I came, and whither going? When I had answered these he continued thus: "Thou art, I suppose, a Moor, and art probably come with some private design, which thou dost not chuse to disclose. If I find my conjecture well founded, dread my severest resentment; if it prove otherwise, thou shalt experience my protection, and receive my permission to travel freely through my country." Having said this, he ordered me to be conducted to the tent where his guard was stationed; here I found thirty soldiers, who behaved to me with much civility. By a special order from the king I was supplied with flesh-meat, meal, and water, and was by all looked upon as a guest under his protection.

I was no further interrogated till the 7th of August, but remained in charge of the guard; on that day I was again brought before the king. I found him seated before the entrance of his tent, surrounded by priests and military persons. On my appearance, he called out to me, "Hast thou brought me no present from thy country?" "I have, as I said to thee before, lost all;" "Art thou then a Christian?" No; I am an Arab." "Thou hast said thou hadst quit thy direct road; what was thy motive for visiting my country?" "Hearing that the nations, thy neighbours, were at war with each other, I thought it not advisable to travel through their territories, I therefore turned towards thy dominions; having been informed, whilst yet many days journey distant from them, of thy power, clemency, and wisdom; as also of the hospitality of thy subjects." "Whilst thou art in my territories thou shalt be safe; but the frontiers are in-

feſted with plunderers, who will ſeize and murder thee; remain therefore with me.” “I will return to thee after I ſhall have viſited my brothers, my ſiſters, my two wives, and my children.” “Bring thy wives and children hither; I will aſſign a tent for thee to dwell in with them. At preſent thou muſt tarry ſome days longer here, as the plains are yet too much inundated for thee to travel over them; and wert thou to croſs the mountains thou wouldeſt be in danger from the beaſts of prey, with which they abound.”

Although perfectly convinced of the truth of all he ſaid, I could yet have wiſhed to proceed directly forty German miles further, that I might be in time to overtake a caravan, which I knew went every year from Kammoh, or Kururfra, to Guinea as ſoon as the rivers had retired within the limits of their banks. Upon further conſidering the point, however, I thought it better I ſhould remain in my preſent ſituation for ſome little time longer, than to purſue my journey now at the imminent peril of my life.

Having decided on this, I applied myſelf to learn the method of making cloaks and coverlids of goat's hair, and in a very ſhort time was as expert in the art as the natives themſelves. The looms for weaving here are very differently conſtructed from thoſe of Europe: inſtead of thoſe foot-boards by which our weavers alternately raiſe and lower the threads of the warp, they teach the children to draw the threads aſunder, whiſt the perſons employed in making the web throw in the woof. The loom conſiſts of four poſts ſtuck in the ground, to which are fixed frames, from which the yarn for the warp is extended; beneath theſe ſits the child employed to ſeparate the threads thus ſtretched, and on each ſide ſtands a grown perſon, who throw to each other an oblong ſhuttle, in which is fixed the yarn which forms the woof, and which paſſes backwards and forwards every time the child forms the opening. The webs thus made are from one to three ells ſquare: the yarn is ſpun on ſpindles, which they twirl about with great dexterity.

I intro-

I introduced an alteration in the weaving-machine which I used by placing boards for the feet to save the labour of the child; as also a beam on which to roll the warp. I succeeded very well in my attempt; but the inhabitants were too much attached to their own method to adopt any new one, even though a palpable improvement.

At the commencement of September I began to feel an eager desire to resume my journey; I accordingly mentioned my wish to the king, at the same time acknowledging my obligations to him, and I immediately obtained his permission to depart whenever I chose it. On the 3d then I set out in a northerly direction, that I might avoid some low grounds, which were yet in many places overflowed. This season of the year is here much the pleasantest for travelling; the face of nature, which, during the rainy period, is wrapt in gloom, now reanimated, displays fresh beauties; and the sun-beams; whilst they enliven each scene, are less scorching than they become a month or two later. At different intervals of the day I saw both tents and caves, but, being furnished with provisions, I kept aloof from them. At sun-set, however, I stopped amongst some straggling tents to request a lodging for the night, which was granted, but I could not obtain any kind of food. On the succeeding day, about noon, I reached the *kohango* (treacherous mountains) which appellation it is most likely they obtained from the vast number of lions which lurk there and seize unwary travellers. This is a narrow ridge, and in some parts is not more than half a day's journey from the last I mentioned as lying eastward from my road. I reached it about evening, having, not without some labour, and rather an exertion of resolution, traversed a wild and rugged valley, said by the inhabitants round to be the abode of evil spirits; few of them will pass through, going a circuit of some hours length to avoid it.

From the 5th to the 9th I passed each night unsheltered, and on the bare ground; never at those times
being

being within reach of a human habitation. The road at intervals was uncommonly bad, but nature smiled all around and cheered my path. Here, for the first time on my travels, I saw a *touykolam*,* not without a considerable degree of alarm lest I should be attacked by it; but it made no attempt to do so. I learned afterwards that this animal is by no means inimical to mankind; in consequence of which intimation I often, in the subsequent course of my journey, caught the young ones, and regaled on their flesh, which I roasted.

On the 10th, about noon, I arrived at a cluster of tents, two-and-twenty in number, where I obtained some milk and meal, for which I paid twenty of my shells, and afterwards proceeded to some others at some distance; here I was kindly entertained for the night, and on the morrow proceeded in company with some men who were going to the gold mountain. We reached it the second day, and found many persons working in the mine at a considerable depth from the surface of the earth. They invited me to go down and see the process; but I did not venture, not knowing how safe it might be to trust myself with them. I addressed myself to their *corahaty* (overseer) who expressed much pleasure at having it in his power to accommodate me. He had a large and commodious tent, in which was stored on all sides a quantity of dried fruits and roots, with a plentiful supply of flesh meat well saved: from these he pressed me to help myself with as much as I chose, spread a plentiful meal before me; and in short, displayed so much true hospitality and good-nature as prepossessed me much in his favour, and I was led on by it to spend some days with him, in compliance with his earnest request. He shewed me the manner in which the gold lay in the earth;

* This animal is in shape like a greyhound; has long hair, and a tail resembling that of a lion, with tusks just the same as a wild-boar. The hair is nearly half an ell long, and soft as silk. Not being much versed in natural history, I am not able to determine whether this creature may not be known to those who are, by some other name.

irth* ; the grains were about the size of those of millet ; deep pits are sunk in different parts of the mountain, under which subterranean springs flow ; in these the nets placed, made of rushes woven very close, in which the waters in their course deposit the golden measure.

I made a stay of six days with this respectable man, who did every thing in his power to make it agreeable to me, treating me more like a brother than a stranger. He could write very well in the manner of the country, which is by inscribing figures and words on the leaves and barks of trees, these he made me imitate ; and, on my turn, I carved the German characters as patterns for him, and he copied them with a great degree of accuracy. I should have prolonged my abode with him had not an opportunity presented itself of proceeding under the convoy of four of the people he superintended, who were charged with the care of carrying a quantity of gold-dust to the king.

On the 17th I took leave of my kind friend with emotions of the sincerest regret, and proceeded on my journey in company with those persons I have mentioned. Our progress for the two first days was attended with many difficulties ; our path lying alternately through thick forests, over rugged steeps, and foetid morasses : lions, tygers, and buffaloes prowled on every side, and inspired us with dismay and apprehension. We stopped for the first night on the summit of a lofty eminence, that we might be the further removed from those enemies to our repose. At sun-rise we again set forward ; we saw but few habitations during this day, and in the evening arrived on the banks of an inconsiderable river called Vohala, which forms the boundary of the kingdom through which I had just passed.

This

* The king Mohopharo, as I some time since mentioned, farms this mine from the king Moyapher ; he pays for it in fruits and flesh-meat ; and besides, generally employs the subjects of the latter as labourers there, providing for their subsistence all the time they are at work for him.

This second night we halted on an open plain ; but were surrounded by so many savage beasts as effectually prevented our enjoying any rest. Unrefreshed and alarmed, we arose with the sun ; and before noon, to our infinite joy, reached a village called Ohgotha, consisting of sixty-seven habitations.

The curiosity of the natives here was strongly excited by my appearance ; all thronged to get a view of me, and each made me the kindest offers of friendship and protection.

This nation varies very little from that last described, either in language, or manners and customs, except in this particular : here are no professed priests, but every father of a family acts in that capacity in his domestic circle. The people are poor, notwithstanding their country may be pronounced the richest in the whole extent of Africa ; as it abounds in gold, which, if industriously managed, and properly disposed of, might procure every comfort, and even superfluity of life. The king is absolute master over all his territories, and all the gold found is his exclusive property. This he unthriftilly disposes of in exchange for cloths of the worst quality, looking-glasses, scissars, knives, nails, and trinkets of little or no value, to the Portuguese, Spaniards, and sometimes to the English who visit the coast of Guinea ; by which barter, as may be easily conceived, he loses considerably : for each cargo of goods thus brought into the country, which are seldom worth more than two thousand dollars, the importers receive in return gold, ivory, and furs to the value of sixty thousand. Those three European nations I have mentioned carry on a traffic of a similar nature with many of the other countries of Africa, obtaining the most precious commodities for those of the most insignificant kind.

In this territory are again to be found regular villages and huts covered with rushes, the inhabitants not being under a necessity to roam in pursuit of water, as it is everywhere in plenty. They have goats in every village, and in some tame buffaloes. The men, when
not

not sunk in sloth, employ themselves in hunting, whilst the women conduct all household concerns. I cannot pretend to pronounce as to the exact extent of the country, as uninhabited deserts stretch to the northern and eastern extremities, which it is nearly impossible to explore; a huge chain of mountains, in most places totally inaccessible, presenting a most tremendous barrier. Besides this there are great inequalities in the widths of different districts. This nation is accused by some of their neighbours of eating human flesh; but I think I can affirm the charge to be void of foundation. What I suppose has given rise to it is, that their teeth are pointed; it is a practice with most of the inhabitants from their infancy thus to sharpen their teeth; and as this is in general looked upon as a mark to distinguish cannibals by, this people have been confounded with others of that description. I cannot, however, deny that their manners are savage, and that robbery is even sanctioned by their laws: but I could observe they made distinction in this point, taking only from those whom they knew to be so rich as not to be much hurt by losing what they deprived them of. From this mode of calculating, caravans are not always safe from being pillaged by them. They are more numerous than the last nation I had visited, and inhabit a tract of country extending on either side of the river Bohala, that being the most fruitful region in their territory; it is in length about two days and a half's journey. There are some villages situated on the frontiers to prevent the inroads of their enemies. The Bohala intersects the country in a winding course from east to west, furnishing them with an ample supply of the finest water.

I have already mentioned the kind reception I received from the inhabitants of the frontier village. They led me into a circle which they had formed round a fire; danced, sung, and played a hundred gambols about me, and seemed animated with a universal joy. After an hour spent in this kind of extravagant merriment I was conducted towards the huts,
on

on the way to which a contest arose which should have the privilege of lodging me for the night. At length their chief advanced, accompanied by his daughter; and, after listening for a few minutes to the disputants, took hold of my hand and led me into his hut. Here a bundle of rushes was spread for me, on which I immediately threw myself. I had lain about half an hour, when my host, whom I had heard called *Ahevo*, supposing me to be asleep, said something to his daughter, of which I guessed I was the subject. I listened attentively, and soon discovered why I had been the object of strife amongst them, and that each wished to have me in his possession. "We shall obtain a handsome present from our king," said he, "when we present him this fine white slave." The girl was silent for a few minutes, and then begged of her father not to say any thing more of his project at that time, but to give her leave to go and lie down beside me. He did not immediately consent; but she persisting, would, I believe, soon have obtained the permission she required, had not her mother just then entered the hut, and begun to speak of something else. Drowsiness, from extreme fatigue, now overpowered me, and I heard no more: anxiety and agitation however rendered my sleep broken and disturbed. I wondered that I had heard nothing since my arrival of my fellow-travellers, who, I found, upon enquiring after them the following morning, had set out during the night, the moon shining very bright, for Acymiroh, a large village, and the residence of the king. As I had awoke very early, roused by my solicitude as to the fate now impending over me, I looked about the hut, and found all the rest of its inmates were still buried in sleep: I therefore arose, and, it being a fine morning, strolled forth. At not many paces distance I perceived a clear stream of water, one part of which had been deepened into a pool, probably for watering the goats. I now felt a stronger desire to bathe than I had ever experienced in any former period of my travels; I accordingly threw off my clothes and leaped into

the pool. This operation produced a more durable sensation than I can express, and I felt as inspired with new life and vigour. I now returned to the hut, the master of which, I informed, had gone in search of me; I mentioned to him the present how I had been employed, which they seemed highly to approve of. My host soon returned, countenance clouded with gloom, which, on seeing me, returned before him, vanished, and he accosted me with a smile of pleasure, praising me for being so able. His daughter too looked at me with much placency, and even fondness; and as soon as her sisters had quitted the hut she flew to me, and flinging her arms about my neck, asked whether I would not stay with them. "To-morrow I must set out," said I, "for I have a great way further to travel." "Thou shalt be my husband if thou wilt stay," returned she. I did every thing to soothe her, and she became more cheerful, treating me with as much familiarity as if we had been long acquainted. Her father too seemed greatly pleased with the friendly terms I was on with his daughter, and I am sure would have been glad had I decided to remain here and take her as my wife. As we were sitting, however, conversing amicably together about noon, in his hut, most of the inhabitants of the village came thronging to the door, to demand of my host whether he did not mean to send me off to-day to the king, that they might the sooner receive the present they expected in return. He told them that, as I had lately gone through great fatigues, I must first have time to recover myself. This satisfied them for the present; but they insisted that my departure should not be put off longer than the next day, which he was obliged to consent. Accordingly, the following morning had scarcely begun to dawn when six of the villagers were already at the door of the hut, declaring they were come prepared to accompany me. My host and his daughter now also got ready to attend me; and in about the space of an hour we set out.

The

The road was wretchedly bad, and at every step we met with obstacles which impeded our progress; sometimes sharp-pointed rocks, at others heavy sands, and often thickly entangled thickets. At length, in the afternoon, we successively passed through the two villages Ukvo and Matoh, saw some straggling huts a little further on, and soon after reached Acymiroh where we had scarcely entered before upwards of a hundred persons flocked eagerly around us, attracted by curiosity to see me. As evening was now advancing it was thought best I should not be presented to the king till the next morning: I was therefore conducted to a hut, where, during the whole of the night, I was exposed to the intrusion of multitudes who flocked in to gaze at me.

About noon the following day, the 21st, I was conducted before the king, by whom I was graciously received. He was just going out, and had not time to talk much to me; the few words he did address to me he concluded by saying, that he could not permit me to remain in his country, being perfectly satisfied I was a Moor, and had some secret design in coming. The persons who had been so eager to bring me thither were disappointed of their expected reward; for the king, instead of accepting of me, seemed determined, from the persuasion of my being a Moor, that I should not even remain in his dominions. For my own part, I felt extremely happy at this decision of the king, so much more in favour of my own purposes than I had expected; and I should not have deferred my departure a single day had I been certain of the route I ought to pursue. I had not yet relinquished the idea of endeavouring to overtake the caravan I have already mentioned, travelling with it to Guinea, and thence taking my passage to Europe in a vessel belonging to some Christian power. I was become weary of travelling; and foresaw that, if I were compelled to continue my journey by land further into the interior of the country, I should still have such innumerable hardships and difficulties to encounter as made me shudder to think of.

I resolved,

lived, therefore, to continue where I was till I had obtained all possible information; and in course of my enquiries collected many useful particulars.

I had now remained here five days, and, as no person had received me under his particular protection, I was at some times compelled to beg for my subsistence; at others I was supplied with meal and four by a few young women who were kindly partial to me; nor had I any fixed lodging for sleeping on, as I was not admitted into any of the huts; and I was obliged to stretch myself on the ground before them, at night in one part of the village and the following day in another.

The weather was intensely hot; and on the 26th, when the inhabitants were slothfully stretched in their huts, I laid myself down in a shady place at some little distance behind them, without considering, that should I fall asleep, and the sun meanwhile come about, so as to beam full on me, I should be terribly scorched by the burning rays; quite overcome with the heat, I did not fall into a slumber, from which I did not awake till I was aroused by some person shaking me with much violence. I started up; and, looking about, saw one man standing near me, and some others a little further off; I did not then know they had any other design than merely to frighten me, and was going from them; but the man who stood next me prevented me, by laying hold of me, and told me I must come to the king: this, as I afterwards found, was one of the royal slaves. His master, who was going to the river to bathe, happened to pass by the spot where I lay asleep; and inquiring who the person was who lay thus exposed to the sun, was informed I was a stranger who had been there some days; whereupon he dispatched some of his slaves to awake me and bring me before him. I was not displeased at the summons, as I hoped I should now obtain his permission for travelling through his territories, which was all I at present waited for. On my appearance in his presence he demanded how it happened I was still here, and he

he having supposed that I had been some days journey from hence. I answered that I had staid for a short time to rest after the fatigues of travelling a great length of way, and now only waited for his permission to pass through his dominions. "Who gave thee leave to come into my dominions?" asked he, in return. "No person but thyself could give me such a permission," replied I, "and I came of myself to implore thy protection and protection." "I told thee, when thou wast first brought before me, that thou must immediately leave my country: since thou art still here, however, thou mayst remain amongst my servants till I shall talk further with thee: at present come along with me." I now attended him to the river whilst he bathed, and afterwards followed with his train to his royal habitation. He then himself shewed me into an adjoining hut; saying, "Stay here till I give thee further orders." This was the residence appropriated to his slaves, who all seemed much pleased to receive me amongst them. Here I received the same kind of diet allotted for them; consisting of a black kind of mud and water, with each day about the breadth of three fingers of flesh which had been dried in the sun. My couch for sleeping was the bare earth in the midst of the slaves, from whom in a few days, I got such a quantity of the vermin called Pharaoh-lice, that I could sweep them off me in handfuls. The slaves laughed at my disgust, and the pains I took to get rid of them, telling me it was labour in vain; that every one here had them, and that the king himself was not free from them, though he bathed every day. The employments assigned me were to collect reeds and thorns for fuel, to attend the king when he bathed, and to assist in the works at the smith's forges.

My companions had, from slothfulness of disposition, voluntarily entered into this state of royal slavery in preference to labouring for their own subsistence. This is no uncommon practice, and the slaves of the priests and of the persons employed in public office as well as those of the king, are generally of this description.

tion. They are not, however, by this means exempted from what they so much dread, being often obliged to work hard; and, besides this, they are never a moment secure from being sold to foreign slave-
ers, and of course being transported to other coun-
tries. Had any of those who travel about for the pur-
chase of slaves come during my stay here, I should un-
doubtedly have been sold or bartered to them.

There was amongst the female slaves one who, from
first, had shewn a particular attachment to me; had
attended me every where, always contrived to be my
want in whatever work I was employed, and by a
hundred kind offices had manifested her affection.
On the 12th of October she and I were, as usual, asso-
ciated in the task of carrying fuel to the royal hut:
convinced of her friendly prepossession in my favour,
I ventured to disclose to her a design I had formed of
endeavouring to effect my escape; entreated her con-
fidence and assistance; promising, either that she should
be the companion of my flight, or handsomely re-
warded in case she chose to stay behind. She instantly
consented to assist and accompany me; and, in conse-
quence, began from that time to make preparations for
my departure: and, in the first place, as my fur-
tunic, from lying so much with the slaves, had be-
come too filthy for me to wear, she made me a cover-
ing of palm-leaves; she next accumulated a little
stock of provisions for our journey: and on the 15th,
being again jointly employed in carrying rushes, she
informed me that all was in readiness, and that we
might the very next morning carry our projected
surprize into execution; charging me to be at the ap-
pointed place by times, that we might elude the obser-
vation of our fellow-slaves. I accordingly arose at an
earlier hour than usual, and found her already waiting
for me. I now thought we had nothing to do but to
depart; she would not, however, go without settling
her preliminaries, and asked me what was to be her reward.
She brought me off in safety. I shewed her three
gilders,

gilders, which I promised to give her; but said she must first accompany me across the river, and as far as the mountains of the moon. After a little consideration she snatched up our bundle of provisions, flung it over her shoulder, and then desired me to follow her. Having bent our course to the northward, she led me over that part of the river which was the easiest to pass, and we then proceeded in a zigzag direction, in order to avoid the villages on each hand. About noon we reached the foot of the mountain; and now all my fears were pretty well over. Here we sat down to eat one more meal together; and then, having taken a sorrowful leave, we parted.

I had with me half a kan of meal, two kans of water, and about two pounds of flesh-meat; and this was to be my sustenance for six days. My money was reduced to twenty-seven gilders, and I had remaining about fifty of my shells. My overseer had occasionally lent me a small hatchet for cutting down the thorns, and this I had brought away with me; and thus furnished I took my way. With much labour and difficulty I attained the summit of the mountain, where I rested for the night; but did not kindle a fire, still fearful of being discovered. I yet adhered to my original intention of joining the caravan if possible; and for this purpose I determined to proceed with the utmost exertions of speed to the kingdom of Akomako (Vangara). Accordingly, before the dawn of day, I again set forward; but was soon obliged to stop short, as, from a narrow pass through which of necessity I must go, hideous roarings informed me it was then the retreat of a number of lions. I therefore sat down on a projection of a rock, to wait for their dispersion. At some distance this mountain appears to rise in a sharp-pointed spire, yet at the summit there is a flat in some parts a mile or two over. To the left of my path I saw a gold-mine, in which were some people at work; but I did not dare to approach it, from a possibility I might be seized and conveyed back to the place

In the forenoon of the 19th I crossed a charming plain, from which, soon after, I entered a sandy and barren tract; here, however, I found a refreshing spring. From the 20th to the 24th I saw neither wild beast nor human being; found neither fruits nor water; but was obliged to keep on my way, hungry and weary, over sandy wastes, with here and there only some small hills scattered over them. My water-couch was drained completely dry, and no water could I find for filling it again; and the violence of my thirst almost overwhelmed me with despair. On the 25th I reached the limits of the kingdom, where a row of huts appeared, built from east to west; I lost not a moment in hesitating upon the expediency of avoiding them; the impulse prompted by my parching thirst was too powerful to be restrained, and I approached that nearest me. I asked for some water and a little meal; the latter I could not procure, and the water which was given me was so nauseously brackish, that scarcely had I tasted it when a violent commotion arose in my stomach, and I felt my whole frame disordered; fortunately, however, I was soon relieved, by casting it all up again. Curiosity now brought numbers round me, but no refreshment was offered, notwithstanding all my entreaties. At length one of the crowd, who appeared to be their chief, advancing, took me by the hand and led me to his hut, where he presented me with both

N

meal

meal and water. I gave him a gilder in return, which rendered him still more bountiful; so that both my hunger and thirst were fully satisfied: he also filled my water-pouch before my departure, and gave me besides a sufficiency of meal for two future repasts. Hence I crossed the borders; and in the evening entered a valley, in which were situated some huts belonging to the territory of the Vomahanians.

CHAP. XI.

*Particulars of the author's arrival amongst the Vomahani-
nians.—A short account of that people.—They receive
him kindly, and entertain him with tiger's flesh.—He
leaves them, and proceeds across Dahamta, northwards,
to the kingdom of Volyagtem.—In this part of his journey
he falls in with the free wandering negroes of the fron-
tiers, who are distinguished by the name of Taomuh.—
Some account of that tribe, and of their arts and com-
merce.—The author travels in their company as far as
their habitations on the frontiers of Bahahara.—Brief
history of that nation.—November the 19th he sets out
with their caravan for Vangara, by the way of Vad-
gayu, Ghouto Yomy, &c.—Not able to bear the fa-
tigue of this mode of travelling, he is taken ill, and
obliged to be left behind.—Soon recovering, he resumes his
journey, and returns back again by Yomy to Yandoka
and Bahahara, where he is detained for a short time as a
slave; but, in reward for having repaired some arms
belonging to the king, is set at liberty; and, obtaining
a royal pass, goes to Kahoratho.—Description of that
country and its capital.*

THE Vomahani-
nians are not a numerous nation, hav-
ing scarcely more than three thousand men fit to
bear arms. They are faithfully attached to their rulers,
are courteous, warm-hearted, and hospitable. In cus-
toms and manners they differ very little from the pri-
mitive stock of which they form a branch. They have
sometimes, however, recourse to pillage, and even to
murder. The oldest men of each community are al-
ways elected to the united offices of priest and judge.
They are in general looked upon as a part of the negro
nation, though nothing can be ascertained as to their
origin. They were, in some former time, possessed of
a territory differently situated from that they now inha-
bit, from whence they were driven by more powerful
neighbours;

neighbours; but where that territory lies they cannot themselves now determine.

Soon after my entering the country I arrived at a small village, and was conducted to the chief, who received me with much kindness, gave me an ample supply of meal and water, and afforded me the refreshment of a good night's lodging. I would have repaid his hospitality by presenting him with some shells; but this he declined, saying, he did no more than his duty in entertaining distressed travellers. Previous to my departure in the morning he gave me a supply for my journey, of meal and tiger's flesh, the latter of which I had never yet tasted; he then pointed out to me the road I was to take, and cordially wished me a good journey. About noon I reached the Faham, a small river, of which the water is pleasant for drinking, though of a reddish cast. I rested for a couple of hours on its banks; and finding my appetite rather keen, regaled on a piece of my tiger's flesh, which I thought much better than that of goats.

For many days past I had not met with a single forest-tree, and even the shrubs had been but thinly scattered on my way, and those of stunted growth; but here I found some flourishing palm-trees, and wild beasts were again to be seen. Within the circle of a hundred German miles the lion is almost the only beast of prey who haunts this region; yet is he not clothed with all that terror that might be expected; when not wantonly irritated he never begins the attack, but will allow the traveller to pass unmolested. During the course of this day I passed near three villages, but did not enter any of them, hastening on to Dayhamta, where I met with the most friendly entertainment. I was here informed, that if I directed my course northward, I should, in the course of three days, come to the borders of the kingdom of Vohyag-tam*. On the 27th I crossed a narrow ridge of mountains

* I am not absolutely certain whether this be the same kingdom which is marked in maps by the name of Dauma or not.
This

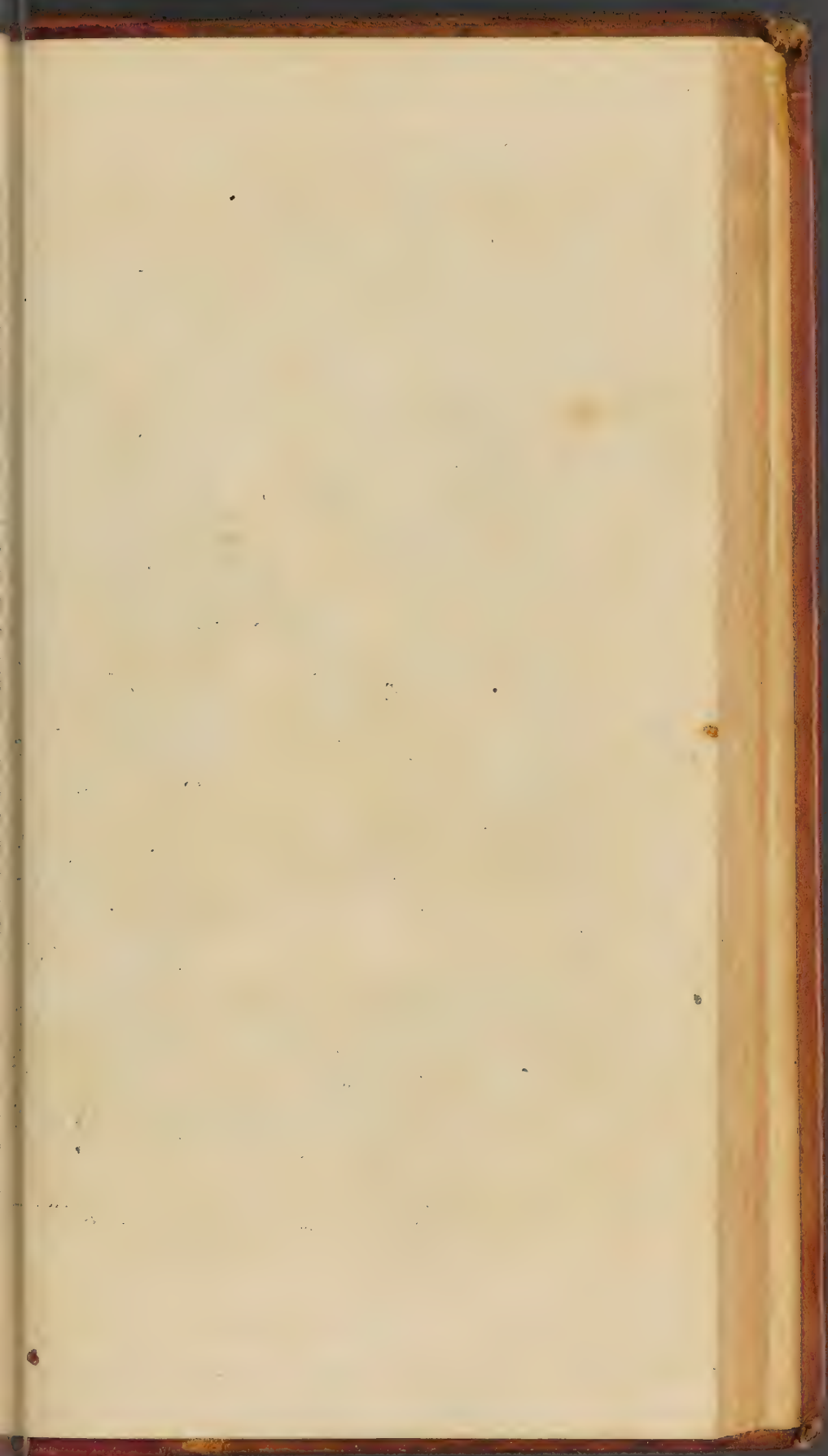
tains in a north-west direction, and early in the evening reached another village inhabited by the Vomahani-ans, where I passed the night, and departed next morning, followed by the kindest wishes of the inhabitants. I carried with me hence a supply of water and meal sufficient for two days; a very lucky circumstance for me, as during that time I met with neither water nor fruits. The village I had now left is the last to be met with in the territory of the Vomahani-ans, notwithstanding their frontiers were yet several German miles distant.

On the 28th and 29th my path lay sometimes through small tracts overgrown with shrubs; at others over extensive sandy plains; and, as I had been taught to expect by the people of the village where I had last lodged, met not a single beast of prey to retard my progress. On the evening of the 29th, on halting for the night, I kindled a small fire, and then gathered a heap of grass together for a couch; but scarcely had I laid myself down, when the sound of human voices assailed my ear; they at first seemed to be at some distance, but listening attentively without changing my posture, I perceived that by degrees they advanced still nearer, and that there were several persons who conversed together. When they had advanced within a few paces of me I started on my feet; and placed myself just before them without uttering a word. On perceiving me they began to interrogate me, demanding, what I did there? "Making a fire," I replied, "to fright the wild beasts from attacking me." Who art thou? they asked. "An unfortunate stranger," returned I, "on his journey through this country." Whence comest thou, and where is thy residence? resumed they. I made my usual answer to these questions, that I was an Arab, and had been shipwrecked. On finding that I understood their language, they in-
vited

This last is there laid down in pretty nearly the same situation in which Vohyagtam lies, except that at one part it extends too far to the east, and on another about as much too far to the north.

vited me to accompany them, telling me I should have both food and lodging if I would do so; I therefore left the fire burning, and followed them. We travelled onward for about a couple of hours, and then stopped at the bottom of a hill, where they shewed me the lodging in which we were to pass the night. It was a cave which ran in beneath the hill, with an arched roof as if formed by the hand of art. Here they produced what provisions they had, on which we regaled together.

These were a band of six-and-twenty persons, belonging to that race of negroes who live on the confines of the kingdom of Vohyagtam. They are an independent people, not subject to the authority of any sovereign; and carry on a very lucrative and extensive traffic by barter, between the coast and the inland country to a considerable distance. They procure from the Portuguese, English, and French, who visit the coast, hardware, looking-glasses, Nuremberg toys, and works of all kinds, with other articles. In return they bring down gold dust, ivory, furs, and other products of the country. They meet with the most encouraging cordiality from all those nations with whom they thus trade; no attempts are made to enslave them, nor to restrain them in their dealings. The reason is plain, as both sides obtain what they wish through their means in this mutual commerce; the Europeans, as may be easily believed, are highly pleased to receive the gold dust and other precious commodities of the country in return for the trifling articles I have already enumerated, to which may be added trinkets equally insignificant in value, as corals, bracelets, rings, earrings, &c. which the kings in the interior of the country prize no less in their turns. Should the subjects of these dominions molest them in any way, on complaint being made to their respective sovereigns, the persons so offending, are either punished with death or sold into slavery. These people also deal in slaves, whom they procure in their progress through the country, and bring down to the Europeans on the coast. They call themselves
Taomuh.





INHABITANTS of BAHAHARA.

Taomuh. Their numbers, according to their own statement, does not amount to more than two thousand souls, including both sexes. They persisted in the opinion they had first conceived, that I was a Christian; but I did not experience the worse treatment on that account; their constant intercourse with the Europeans having removed that prejudice. They were very urgent that I should accompany them the next time they went to the coast, where I might have an opportunity of joining some of my own countrymen; or else proceed with them to the island Fernando, from whence they were now come. I explained to them that this would be deviating from the direct line to my own country, as to pursue that I must still go further inland here. They were satisfied with this reason, but said we need not yet separate, as they were now to take the same road I meant to pursue.

We accordingly set out together, and on the 30th reached the frontiers. We halted for the night between two ridges of mountains which stretch along the banks of the river Tron, forming boundaries to the territories of three different nations. To the west lies a valley extending into the kingdom of Bahahara*, which is divided from that of Vangara by these mountains; and along their feet on the southern side is the frontier partition of the kingdom of Vohyagtam, which is carried still further on by the river I just now mentioned. This river has its source from the lake Bishma (Burnu)† and flows to the south-west.

— About

* This kingdom does not appear in the map now before me; nor do any geographers mention it. I have written its name Bahahara according to the pronunciation of the negroes.

† A lake which receives its waters from the river Niger; it is about a day and a half's journey in length, and four German miles in breadth. The streams of three principal rivers are supplied from it, viz. the Kahmgtho, which flows in a north-eastern direction; the Trungoht, which runs southward; and the Gambaru, which takes its course towards the east. Besides these three greater rivers, several smaller ones also take their rise from this lake, but they are dried up at certain seasons.

About noon we arrived at the huts of my fellow-travellers, situated on the confines of Bahahara. The other inhabitants testified a mixture of joy and curiosity on seeing me, concluding immediately that I had been brought by their comrades from the island Fernando. On hearing, as I pretended, that I was not a Christian but an Arab, they became much less cordial to me. I was extremely surpris'd at their behaviour in this point, so diametrically opposite to that of all other African nations; but I could easily account for it on being told that the Arabs and Moors are most determined enemies to their commercial enterprizes. Every year, as I learned, a great caravan goes from this place to the kingdom of Furno, a matter of twenty days journey, during which time they are incessantly annoyed with the hostilities of those marauders ever roaming in search of plunder: this circumstance obliges the people of the caravan always to go armed, and on horseback. I found out by the conversation of the men just arrived, with the others, that one more caravan was allowed to go soon to Vangara, for the purpose of disposing of the commodities which they had just brought from the island Fernando. Upon this I made some enquiries, and learned that it would not be going much out of my way to travel with this caravan: and that it would be particularly desirable to do so upon one account, as in their company I could pass the river Niger, which I should find it impossible to get over by myself. I therefore applied to the persons about to set out on this journey for leave to accompany them, to which they agreed; but represented to me at the same time, that after parting with them at Vangara, there was every reason to fear that I should fall into the hands of the roving banditti who infested that part of the country, in which case I should infallibly be sold as a slave. This, however, did not deter me; and I assured them I should be happy to travel so far with them; and would take my chance to escape the robbers.

This

This is a nation inconsiderable as to numbers, but it is infinitely more civilized than any I had yet met with, owing, no doubt, to their mixing so much with the Europeans in the way of traffic. They cultivate their grounds, and lay up stores for future exigencies. Their goats are of a superior size, and uncommonly fat, owing to their being well fed and carefully attended to. These people were formerly inhabitants of another district under the jurisdiction of the king of Haoussa; but the frequent inroads of the wandering moors obliged them to quit it, and they removed to Tambukta, but even there finding themselves exposed to the same inconveniences, they again changed their place of residence for that where they are now settled, and where they enjoy perfect peace and security.

On the 9th of November the caravan set out, consisting of a hundred and forty armed men on horseback; I following on foot. About noon we reached the village of Vadgau, where we halted to take some refreshment and bait the horses. Fearing I might run the risk of being left behind by my party, I applied to one of them for leave to ride one of the pack-horses, to which he agreed, for the price of two gilders. The village where we stopped belongs to the kingdom of Bahahara, or Bahaora, and soon after quitting it, we were obliged to alight and drive our horses over some steep which arose before us. This, I learned, was not the road usually travelled; that lying over a desert twenty or four-and-twenty German miles in extent; which, had we passed, a large quantity of provender and water for the horses must have been carried along with us.

On the 10th we alternately passed over, and wound below amongst lofty eminences. At noon we arrived at another village called Ohvuto, consisting of about eighty huts, and inhabited by negroes. On the surrounding hills fine melons and gourds are raised; of these we procured some, but at a very high price. We still directed our course to the north-east; came by two wretched looking villages, which affording us no accommodations, we went on, and passed the night be-

neath the open sky. On the 11th we were still in the neighbourhood of the mountains, which were now to the west of us: our road was level and easy, but presented us with no more villages till the 16th, when we arrived at that of Yomy.

On the day preceding this, several of the persons belonging to the caravan had left it to proceed to Mooha, a small town in the kingdom of Vangara, for the purposes of traffic; and on the evening of the 16th a messenger arrived from them, notifying their intention of pursuing their route on the other side of the lake of Burnu, and their hope of joining us again at Vangara.

On this same evening we had again a part of the mountain to cross on horseback; and as it was very dark, and I had neither bridle nor saddle, I found it impossible to keep up with my companions; when I attempted to ride quick, I was sure to tumble from my seat, having nothing to secure me in it; and if I relaxed my speed, the rest of the party would call to me, saying I must keep with them. I had already got several falls, and finding myself very much bruised, I at length told my fellow-travellers, that my proceeding at the same pace that they did was totally out of my power, and that therefore I must continue my journey alone and on foot. To this they would by no means consent, as those mountains, they said, were not only the haunts of numerous beasts of prey, but infested with bands of roving plunderers: they therefore assisted me again to mount, and two of their best horsemen were placed near, and had the charge of conducting me; and thus we again pursued our way with tolerable speed. As day began to dawn we reached Fahya; here, finding myself all over severely hurt, and absolutely unable to stand, I again mentioned my intention of staying behind; however, after a few hours rest, I was prevailed upon once more to get on horseback, that I might not lose the benefit of their convoy as far as they went. We accordingly set forward, but had not proceeded many paces, when I was again
pitched

pitched from my horse, and fell senseless to the ground.

On recovering my recollection I found myself in the hut of a benevolent negro, who was watching by me, and told me, as soon as I was able to understand him, that my fellow-travellers had gone on, but had left a portion of their meal and dried flesh for my use. I essayed to rise, but could neither walk nor stand, and found I was in a high fever. Overwhelmed with despondency, I again threw myself on the straw; and in my despair wished repeatedly for death to terminate my miseries. These were no ways alleviated on finding myself conveyed from the dwelling-hut to that appropriated to the goats. The good people here, unacquainted with the nature of fevers, on seeing the convulsive motions of my body and limbs whilst violently affected by it, believed it some strange pestilential malady, which it was their duty to avoid. I was not, however, totally abandoned: a good-hearted negro finding I called frequently for water to drink, prepared me a beverage from roots and green leaves boiled, which, though unpleasant to the taste, threw me into a profuse perspiration, and afterwards a profound sleep, from which I awoke considerably refreshed. I had been for twelve days periodically visited by two daily and violent fits of fever; and to the efficacy of this medicine I may, I am sure, attribute my soon being not only entirely freed from it, but my strength in a great measure restored.

By conversations with those of the inhabitants who visited me during my confinement, I learned that the road to Vangara was very unsafe to travel; that numerous bands of wandering robbers frequented the desert which I must necessarily cross; and that Vangara itself was by no means that large and opulent place I had been led to imagine it. From every consideration, therefore, I deemed it my best method to turn back a few German miles, and then proceed directly to Bahahara. For my shelter, and the small quantity of provisions I had been able to consume, I gave my

kind negro host two gilders, for which he was truly grateful; presenting me in his turn with some meal and a fine melon: he also prepared himself to accompany me part of my way, and conducted me over the same mountain which I had before crossed on horseback in the night-time. About noon I again entered Zomy, and repairing to my former host, obtained from him a refreshment of milk and meal, with a supply of the latter for my journey; and then proceeded forwards in a north-west direction.

During the two following days I saw not a single human habitation: but my road was tolerably good; fruits of various kinds abounded; and here and there I met with some excellent springs. There are immense numbers of ostriches through all the country round; another resource for the travellers, their eggs furnishing him with a choice repast. On the evening of the 5th, I at length arrived at some ill-built huts, fourteen in number: I found the inhabitants busily engaged in dancing in celebration of some festival. I requested and obtained permission to stay the night with them. As I found rest more necessary than eating or drinking, without doing either I flung myself down at the back of the huts, where I slept soundly till morning, when, on awaking, I found a covering of goat-skin had been thrown over me. A young man presently after brought me my breakfast of meal, milk, and flesh-meat, and whilst I was eating, conversed intelligently with me, furnishing me with many useful hints for my future proceedings. On my telling him I had come from Syria, (for I now changed the name of my native country, lest I should be led into a mistake similar to that I had fallen into some time before) he said, that on my arrival at Bahahara, I should there meet with caravans from Syria. I thanked him for his information, and then desired to know what I was to pay for my entertainment; he replied that they never here permitted strangers to pay for any thing. He then left me, but soon hastened back with the pleasing intelligence that two of his countrymen

men were soon to go on a journey to Vohmy, from whence they were to bring back salt, and that if I chose it, I might proceed in their company.

Accordingly, on the 8th I set out on my departure with these people: we crossed a delightful plain, but found the heat so oppressive that our strength was nearly exhausted, when at length we arrived at a village. At the first hut to which we came, we applied for a lodging, which was granted without hesitation; but our host's means were not equal to his hospitality, for though we offered to pay him for what we should eat, he could not let us have either food or drink; we therefore sent him to the *dorisata* (judge) with our money, and a request that he would procure us some provisions. He quickly returned, bringing both meat and meal, and our money was also sent back; on expressing our surprise at this, he told us that the *dorisata* desired him to say, that kindness and hospitality were nothing more than a duty due to strangers; that therefore he should accept of no payment; but he should be glad if we would come to him for some minutes, that he might have an opportunity of seeing his guests. In consequence of this message, we made him a visit the next morning, and then resumed our journey, travelling for three hours over a continued series of hills and mountains to Yandoka, a village consisting of about two hundred huts. Here I breakfasted for the last time with my companions, as they were to go no farther; and taking leave of them, pursued my route alone. In a short time I reached a huge chain of mountains, stretching to the extent probably of six or seven leagues in length; and pretty thickly grown over with date and cotton trees. I resolved to pass the night on one of these steeps, as I perceived I could not possibly reach the city of Bahahara in time, being still three or four leagues distance from it.

On the forenoon of the 10th I reached that capital, and was, immediately on my arrival, taken into custody by six soldiers, and carried to the residence of the king: he, however, not choosing to see me that day,

day, sent orders that I should be taken back, and a strict guard kept over me. I was accordingly conveyed to a goat-hut, where, however, I was plentifully supplied with provision. On the following morning I was commanded to attend the king, and I was conducted into his presence. Upon my entrance I was interrogated by one of his ministers*; and amongst a variety of questions the following were put to me: From what motives was I come into that country? Had I brought any present to the king? Whither was I going? and was I a Christian? I answered each in its order; and first, that I had decided on travelling through that country as the readiest and safest road to my own; that I was an unfortunate mariner, who had been shipwrecked, and lost all my property; and lastly, that I was no Christian. I added that I required nothing more here than lodging for a single night; and, if not inconvenient, a supply of provisions for a day; but that if the king had the least objection to my presence, I was ready to depart immediately. I received orders to remain, as the king wished himself to have a conference with me; and I was conducted back to my hut, where, as before, I was amply provided with food and drink.

As far as eating, drinking, and sleeping went, I lived very comfortably here until the 14th, when my affairs assumed a different aspect. An officer came to take me from my present confinement, but it was only to place me in the hut assigned to the slaves. In consequence of this, I was on the following morning obliged to rise very early, and then received orders from the overseer, first, to feed the horses, afterwards to pound some dates; and lastly, to carry to the forest the

* The king understood my language perfectly well; but it was from a kind of royal ceremonial that he now spoke to me through his minister. Except his state officers and great men of the kingdom, he never himself talks to any of his subjects; and it was a very flattering proof of royal grace and condescension, that he afterwards conversed personally with me.

the king's implements for hunting, consisting of a bear, two guns, and a vessel filled with water. These I was to perform but for a very short time, for on one of the first days of my thus carrying the king's fire-arms, I inspected them very narrowly, which he observing, asked what I looked at with so much attention. I replied, that as the guns were in very bad condition, I was examining whether it might not be possible to repair them: the locks, in all likelihood, had not been taken off or oiled for years, and of course were quite covered with rust. Seeing I still looked with great earnestness into them, the king asked me whether I would undertake to put them into better order; on my answering in the affirmative, he told me that he would then, that very day, have me removed to a more commodious residence, and take care I should be furnished with every thing I might require.

In a former period of these travels I mentioned that there are a particular set of people who travel about the country of Bahahara, and the neighbouring districts, for the express purpose of cleaning fire-arms, and repairing them when damaged. From this circumstance it may be imagined that there was not much left for me to do; but the following relation of facts will clear up that point:

Some years previous to my visiting that country, the king of Haoussa had declared war against the king of Bahahara; and during the conflict the latter had been a considerable sufferer. The armourers, if I may call them so, had just been putting his arms into thorough repair, and were preparing to continue their journey further on, when the king, fearful that they might put the arms of his enemy into equal good condition, sent them orders not to quit his capital. This injunction they were preparing to disobey, as they knew there was nothing more to be gained here in the way of their business, when the king had them seized and thrown into prison, and there kept them till the termination of the war. From that time forward they

never

never returned into his dominions, notwithstanding he has given them repeated assurances both of security and reward.

A large and convenient hut, adjoining what was called the palace of the king, was that same evening assigned me. I had whatever food and drink I chose to call for, and a slave was appointed to attend me. I took my own time for my work, and went on quite at my leisure; hence what I did execute was looked upon as of the more importance. On the third day of my undertaking I presented the king with the first of his guns I had taken to pieces, and which was now in complete order. This procured me unbounded applause, with many assurances of the royal favour. Soon after this, I was again sent for by the king, and received his directions to set to rights, in like manner, the fire-arms of all his soldiers, that were out of repair; and likewise to initiate some of the soldiers themselves in the art, that they might in future be able to clean and mend their own. As to the first of these points it was not possible for me to promise compliance with his desire to the extent he seemed to expect; for I represented to him, that as I should not be able to make new locks or triggers for such as wanted them, of course I could not repair all; but as many as I could rectify I should most readily do to the very best of my power. He was satisfied with my reasons, and said he did not require me to do impossibilities; but that, however, those arms even without locks or triggers might still be of service. I had the curiosity to enquire afterwards how this could be; and was informed, that those soldiers who carried arms in this state to the field, fired them off by applying a lighted match or glowing embers to the pan.

My time was now very pleasingly occupied; I worked when I found myself disposed to do so; and in the intervals, walked about the town to enlarge my circle of acquaintance, in order that I might study with more precision the customs and manners of the country, with the distinguishing characteristics of its inhabitants.

habitants. I frequently accompanied the king to chase, and found it a very agreeable amusement. His majesty repeatedly employed all his rhetoric to persuade me to take a wife, and would even have willingly yielded me up one of his four hundred concubines; but I declined the honour, telling him that I already a wife and three children in my own country, whom with his permission I would bring thither.

Early in the month of March 1788, the king informed me, that the time now approached when he should quit Bahahara, the water there always becoming very bad at that season, and that he should then remove up his residence at Kaharotha, where a canal, from the river Gambia, always yielded a supply of good and fresh water. I could easily perceive that this intimation was a prelude to my being ordered to attend him; and I determined from thence to pursue my journey, with the king's leave if I could obtain it, and if not, to accomplish my purpose privily. As I had expected, two days previous to his departure I actually received a command to get myself in readiness for my journey. I thanked the king for this instance of his condescension, and of the confidence he reposed in me; and at the same time entreated his most gracious permission to prepare also to set out for my own country, that I might be able to make my way back hither in before the commencement of the rainy season. "How many days wilt thou be travelling to thy home?" demanded he. "Upwards of thirty," I replied. "I will appoint two trusty persons to accompany thee there and back again," said he. I answered that I was truly grateful for his kind attention, but must decline accepting the intended favour; first, because I should have no means of subsisting those persons on the road; and next, because their appearance in my country would excite curiosity and create suspicion, which would infallibly induce my king to order me into confinement, to prevent my returning; that it was my business there, as here, to keep the king's fire-

fire-arms in order; consequently I could not attempt coming away by day, but must endeavour to effect my escape by night, in order to return again to him. These arguments had the desired effect, and I received the king's permission for my departure a short time afterwards.

On the 13th the king with his whole court, myself of the number, set out from Bahahara. The royal retinue consisted of twenty priests, four hundred men on foot, two hundred on horseback, and about one hundred of the king's wives. This capital which now left is rather more than a league in length, and upwards of three quarters of a league in breadth: it contains a few houses, but consists chiefly of huts, of which there are a great number; these are constructed of rushes and palm-leaves, the lower parts plaistered round with mortar. The whole town is surrounded by a double pallisadoes, within which circumference are one hundred poor ill-built temples, very little superior to the huts: it is divided into four streets, formed by five rows of huts. The few houses there are, consist but of one story each; nor has the palace itself any greater elevation; but it is a most spacious residence, comprising in its extent the sixth part of the whole town. It is surrounded by a wall very irregularly built, five feet in height and three in thickness, composed of flints and rough-hewn pieces of rock: within this inclosure stand, besides the palace, nine detached buildings, appropriated for the residence of the priests, the royal concubines, and the officers. On the north side is a quadrangular space surrounded with stones, in which, at night, stand the horses belonging to the guard. On the south side is the king's abode, divided into four apartments, which, with us, might very well pass for stables. I ornamented one of them by plaistering it over smooth with mortar, and then painting it a green colour, with a kind of juice extracted from young palm-leaves and tamarinds: when finished the king was in no small degree delighted with my work. In the town are two market-places; one situated near the

palace, in which fruits and corn are sold; the other at the western extremity of the town, for fish, fowl, and other animals for food. There are ten or twelve markets in all these articles which I have enumerated, and, on two periodical days in a certain number, which answers to the Wednesdays and Fridays of our country, hang out publicly, and arranged in order, the different commodities each has for sale or barter. Two yearly fairs are also held, to which, as I was informed, merchants and foreign traders resort, even from the distance of twenty days journey. Neither of these I saw during my residence there, so that I am not qualified to relate any further particulars concerning them.

The train which I have mentioned above, set off from the town at a very slow pace, yet I could not without infinite exertion keep up with it. A place of honour, it is true, in the foremost rank, was assigned me; but I was oppressed with the weight of the burthen I was obliged to carry, consisting of two guns, a vessel containing upwards of three kans of water, some pieces of flesh-meat, two tortoises, and not less than a peck of meal. The day was excessively hot, and, unable to overcome with fatigue, after proceeding some way, I sat down to rest myself upon a stone. My fellow travellers laughed at me; but the officer who commanded the detachment reprimanded them for it, concluding I had been taken ill: he mentioned my lassitude in this light to the king, who immediately gave orders, that the guns should be taken from me, and a horse provided for me to mount, which proved a most valuable relief. We reached Kahoratho early in the evening, where we found huts ready for our reception, and every thing in the utmost order; twenty men having been dispatched three days before to make the necessary preparations.

Kahoratho is scarcely entitled to the name of a town, consisting only of some ruinous huts, which at first must have been miserably constructed; for no timber fit for supporting them growing within some leagues

leagues of the place, the inhabitants are much too poor to bring a sufficiency for that purpose; and preferring them fall into decay about them, and even, as I have seen in several instances, living day and night in the open air, to using the exertions necessary for their repair. These huts are situated on an extensive plain through which the canal I have already mentioned is conducted. Beyond this plain some mountains rise to their heads, over which are scattered fruit-trees of various kinds, the produce of which form one important article of subsistence for the inhabitants throughout the whole of the year. Turtles, with other different kinds of fish, are here in great plenty; as are also land tortoises, and several sorts of wild-fowl.

Before I resume the narrative of my travels, I will mention some further particulars which came under my own immediate observation relating to this people, their manners, customs, civil and religious institutions, with any other objects worthy of note.

This kingdom stretches in a direction two points of the compass towards the north: is situated nine days journey from Vangara to the east, and twelve from Tambuko on the west side. Its length from east to west is about six days journey, and its greatest breadth from north to south three and a half. There are three towns contained within its limits, 1. Bahahara, the capital, situated nearly in the centre of the territory, 2. Mahoora, lying to the west, and 3. Kahoratho, one day journey north-east of the capital. The soil is fruitful and spots of cultivation are here and there to be met with. There are great abundance both of wild and tame animals, and fish are also in great plenty. Through a part of the country to the north-east runs the river Gambia, which in its course pours a portion of its waters into two small lakes. A ridge of mountains stretches through the territory from east to north-west; on these are innumerable fruit-trees, the principal of which is the date-tree, which yields its fruit in great profusion, and the valleys furnish the finest pasturage for horses, oxen, and goats. There are no crocodiles in the great river

of this country, as geographers have pretended to assert. It would be superfluous to enter into a minute discussion of the customs and manners of these people, as those of the negroes transported to Asia and America, from this as well as from the neighbouring kingdoms, have been so often and so accurately described. The king is possessed of despotic authority; his subjects are so entirely at his disposal, that he can even sell them as slaves*. The priests are the next to him in importance and power, but they dare not offer any opposition to the decrees of the king. In every village there is a *dorisata* (a superintendant or judge), who must be nominated by the king of his own special authority. Each of the principal towns have three judges, who are generally military officers, and being always in the royal favour, often pronounce decisions according to their own pleasure. The king's forces consist of sixteen thousand foot and three thousand cavalry. The latter are most wretchedly appointed, having neither saddles nor bridles for their horses, nor any other implements for guiding them but a few leather thongs. They carry on a trade in dates, cotton, and skins, which they convey to Symohatony, six days journey beyond Tambuko, and even to greater distances, both by water and in caravans.

Numbers of his subjects, when not able to gain a livelihood in the villages, offer themselves to him as voluntary slaves, merely as a means of subsistence. These, however, are for the most part sold to slave-dealers, in order to make room for others of the same description.

C H A P. XII.

The author leaves Kahoratho.—His journey through the lages Abatamy, Sahmeeh, and a tract of country destitute of water.—Description of the biyong-fruit.—Arrives at the author at the first frontier village of the kingdom Haoussa, where he meets with bad treatment from Samtygoetys, a pyraty nation; but one of them attaching himself to him, protects him, and conducts him to the river Gamburu, or Niger.—The author arrives at the village of Kongao, is taken prisoner, and carried to Haoussa, the capital.—Is brought before the king, who receives him into the royal service.—This excites envy and revenge, and his enemies endeavour to deprive him of the king's favour; which, however, he still more conciliates by making him some arms, and executing some cabinet-maker's work.—The king shews his strict attachment to justice, in a remarkable instance, by which means the author is freed from a very dangerous situation.—By the friends he had made in the town, the author acquires information respecting the neighbouring nations, and makes himself master of the route into the greater Barbary. War between the king of Haoussa and the king of Vangara.—The Haoussans take the capital of Vangara by assault.—The author is an eye-witness to this transaction. Peace concluded; the conditions.—Description of the kingdom of Vangara.—Returns to Haoussa.—The author makes his escape from thence, quits that kingdom, and proceeds to that of Feene, distant from it rather more than a thirty days journey.—Particular description of Haoussa, its capital, and the royal residence.—The author travels in the character of a gun-smith through the villages of Yelly and Pygosity to Feene; where, for the repairing of arms, he is amply recompensed and well entertained.—Lives comfortably here for six months, then departs in a small caravan for Sille, having received a letter of recommendation, and been provided with clothes, provisions, and instruments.

ON the 17th of March I once more set out on my journey; the king having, previous to my departure, presented me with two hundred shells and a stock

provisions; he also appointed two persons to attend me as guides. I directed my steps to the north-east, and crossed the mountain which terminates the plain, on which Kahoratho stands. I merely halted to refresh myself at the village Abatamy; but passed the night in that of Sahmuh; and here my guides left me to return home. The next day I journeyed on without seeing a single village, so that I was obliged to make a craggy step my bed for the night. Hitherto, and still further on my way, fruits abounded, and roots fit for food were equally plenty, but I suffered intolerably from a scarcity of water. In vain I explored every valley, sought in the clefts of every rock, not a drop of water was to be found, to cool my parched tongue; and thus till the end, did I continue my progress without quenching my thirst, or meeting a fellow-being. On that day, a few huts, at length, presented themselves to my view, and I, with inexpressible joy, ran towards them; but what was my disappointment to find them uninhabited; the people who had resided in them, having deserted them for want of water, removing for a time to another part of the country, in pursuit of that article, so necessary to existence.

From this place I bent my course towards the east rather than to the north, that I might wind round a mountain which stood in a northern direction. Towards evening I reached a charming forest, through which were scattered various kinds of fruits, particularly the *biyong**, which was a most welcome refreshment to me, as it at the same time satisfied my hunger and assuaged my thirst. After having indulged in this luxury, I kindled a fire and lay down near it; but I had

* This fruit is something like our quince, is of a red colour, sweet to the taste, and about the size of a hen's egg; the pulp is of a paler red, is mealy, and has no pippins. The tree on which it grows has a white bark, large circular leaves, and the branches spread into strong arms like the oak. The natives weave the leaves into mats for covering their huts. The fruit they dry in the sun, and then bruise it into fine flour, of which they make cakes.

had not enjoyed an hour's rest when I was disturbed by a visit from six men. They too had lain down no great distance from me, and on seeing the fire, I came to find out by whom it had been lighted. They sat down by me, and then gave me an account of themselves; these it seems were the inhabitants of the huts which I had found desolate; and they told me they had built others on the verge of the forest where they were come to gather fruits. They passed the night with me, and in the morning I accompanied them to their huts, where, on asking for water, I received an abundant supply: they brought it from the river Gamburu*, near which their huts were situated. I enquired of these people which route would be best for me to pursue, what nations I should come to, and whether I might hope to perform my journey in safety. They advised me to travel towards the northward; and I accordingly turned in that direction.

A mountain, not very steep lay before me, which I ascended, and found it covered over with such a multitude of scorpions, that at each step I took, I trod on them. I had not, I suppose, exactly followed the track which had been pointed out to me, for by turning too much to the north-west, it was evening before I arrived at the village which I might otherwise have reached by noon. Not seeing any inhabitants about the huts, I concluded that these too were abandoned, and was about to enter one of them without further ceremony, but had scarcely set my foot on the entrance, when two negroes sprang towards me, and struck me repeatedly with their sticks; I ran off, crying out most vehemently, but they pursued and continued to assault me, till at length I fell to the earth, and there they left me. When I had a little recovered myself, I summoned up resolution, and limped as well as my hurts would let me towards another hut. Here I found a young girl who seemed to view me with compassion. I shewed her

* The Niger, known in that part of the country by the name Gamburu.

her my body and limbs which were covered with blood, took hold of her hand, and used every gesture expressive of supplication; for neither she nor the barbarous wretches who had thus abused me, understood a word I said to them. She made me a sign to remain where I was, then ran off, and in a short time returned, bringing her father along with her, and at the same time a piece of dried flesh, which she gave me. The old man spoke a few words to his daughter; then turning to me, demanded by signs, whence I came, whither I was going, and what it was I required? I answered his questions in the same manner they had been asked, and in return to the last, said, that I wished for a night's lodging from him. He nodded, and his daughter advancing took me by the hand and led me towards their hut. The inhabitants now all flocked around me, some with threatening gestures as if they meant a repetition of the treatment I had already received; but the old man protected me from them, and got me safe into his hut. Here I passed the night, anxiously fearful as to what might be the consequence of the hostilities with which I was menaced. Before the rest of the inhabitants of the village were stirring, however, the old man conducted me to the river, over which he ferried me on a kind of float, constructed of two trees stripped of the bark, and fastened together.

This village, as I afterwards learned, belongs to the kingdom of Haoussa, not to that of Bahahara. The inhabitants, who are borderers, subsist chiefly by robbery, lead a roving life, now residing at one place, then at another, and are known by the name of Samtygoety. They were once subjects of the kingdom of Gratulagi (*Kaughu*) but their depredations became so intolerable that they were driven from thence. They neither possess cattle, nor practise any kind of agriculture; their existence, of course, must be miserably precarious; they do not even go out on their plundering excursions till compelled to it by the calls of hunger. In Haoussa, where I afterwards went, the inhabitants expressed extreme surprise at my escape from those robbers.

bers, who, as they informed me, generally murder travellers who chance to fall into their hands. The number of these barbarians is about fifteen hundred persons. They will not be at the trouble of rearing their own children, but sell them, and supply their places by stealing others more advanced in life.

On the 26th I came within sight of two other villages, but carefully avoided approaching them; satisfying the cravings of hunger with the fruits which I met with in my progress. At night I slept amidst the branches of a tree, lest I should become a prey to the roaring lions whom I heard on every side. After proceeding some hours on my route, the following day I reached the village Congoa, in the territory of the Haoussians; here I was at first refused admittance; the inhabitants supposing me to be a forerunner of the plunderers who were coming to steal slaves. On finding, however, that I neither understood nor spoke their language, therefore could not belong to the neighbouring robbers, they so far favoured me as to conduct me to a goat-shed, where, when the goats were served with food, I received a very scanty allowance of milk and meal. On the following morning, when the goats were turned out to brouze, I too would have quitted my miserable lodging, but was pushed back, and after getting a little more milk and meal, the door was bolted upon me. Towards noon an old man opening the door, examined me with much attention, and then beckoned to me to follow him. I did so, and coming to his hut found upwards of a hundred persons assembled about it. They began to interrogate me by signs; demanding where I meant to go, whether I had any money about me, &c. These questions I answered as well as I could by my gestures, and in order to awaken their compassion, pointed to the black and blue marks which were all over my body and loins, from the blows I had received from the robbers. This produced its effect, and obtained me an immediate repast, consisting of tortoise, milk, meal and fruits; in about an hour, however, I was conducted back to the goat-shed.

On the 28th of March, before day began to break, four men armed with spears entered and awoke me; they had brought me some meal and water, with which having replenished my vessels for conveying my provisions, they ordered me to follow them. Resistance I knew would answer no end; I therefore took up my little store, and did as they desired. We pursued our course towards the north-east, traversing a plain over which some villages were scattered; but these we did not approach. At noon we stopped to rest some time on the border of what had been a lake, but was now dried up. We next climbed a mountain covered with long grass, and abounding with fruit trees; and having descended on the other side, entered the village Yoomato, consisting of forty-four huts, in one of which my fellow travellers and I passed the night together. I observed looks and gestures of compassion directed towards me by the inhabitants, which seemed to intimate that something disastrous was impending over me. Victuals in great abundance were brought me, but, overcome with fatigue, I was unable to eat, and soon fell asleep.

At an early hour the next morning we were again in motion; but I was soon compelled, from the soreness of my feet, to sit down on the ground, not being any longer able to keep up with the negroes, who walked very fast. They seemed to feel for my suffering, put bandages round my feet, and went on at a slower pace. Thus relieved, I followed them, and held out tolerably well till evening. The village where we stopped for the night was the fourth we had come to in the course of that day, and here we soon went to rest. This village is called Zooto, and contains sixty huts; it stands within about three leagues of the river Niger, on a fertile plain, where the inhabitants cultivate barley, Indian corn, and gourds. On the following morning some ointment was given me to apply to my lacerated feet; and my conductors, out of consideration for me, postponed our setting out till noon; and in the mean time a repast was prepared for us, consisting of

gourds stewed in okonnoto juice *. This dish is here looked upon as a great delicacy, but I confess it did not appear so to me; the sauce, which is of a greasy nature, congealing into lumps before it reaches the mouth.

After we had dined we again proceeded forward, and ascended a small mountain, from the summit of which a most beautiful scene opened to our view. A charming plain stretched out beneath us; at a distance in the back ground stood the city of Haoussa; and more in front of the prospect the great river Niger pursued its course. Here I found myself all at once transported into a new region, differing totally from any thing I had yet seen: as far as the eye could reach, houses and huts were scattered all around; delightful groves appeared in different points of view, with intervening pastures, enlivened by goats, horses, and camels, feeding through them; whilst men, both on foot and horseback, seemed busily engaged in a variety of occupations. In short, I may safely assert, that the district which I now, for the first time, beheld, is one of the finest, or rather I may say, the very finest and most charming in all Africa.

From the mountain whence we now descended, it was not less than an hour's walk to the banks of the Niger, which my companions intended we should be conveyed across; but six of the Moors belonging to the *ofitatho* (ferry-house) prevented the ferry-men from taking us, and seemed inclined to send back my conductors and detain me. They interrogated me, but as I did not understand their language, consequently could

* This juice is of a pale green colour, and is extracted from a berry about as large as our cherries. The juice is squeezed out, and then boiled to the consistency of a syrup, which is by no means disagreeable to the taste. In this state it is used as a substitute for butter, in making cakes, and in other articles of cookery. The tree which produces this fruit grows in the form of our firs; the branches and leaves shooting out quite from the root, and all the way up the stem to the top, and drooping downwards. It is covered at the same time with blossoms and fruit all the year through.

could not answer them, I remained silent. This confirmed them in the opinion they had at first conceived, that I was a Christian; and they told my fellow-travelers, as I afterwards learned, that I should not have permission to enter the city. The men who had brought me did not wish to leave me behind, as in that case they must relinquish all hopes of the gratuity they had expected on delivering me up. They objected, therefore, to the arrangement proposed by the Moors, and a dispute arose; at length a compromise was agreed on: my conductors were sent over the river to the little town of Boofu, whilst I was detained in custody by the Moors. At this part of the river a guard is constantly stationed, to watch if any suspicious-looking persons attempt to cross the ferry, and to seize upon all such, and send them in custody to the king. These men, however, do not always strictly adhere to their duty in this point, or rather indeed go beyond it; frequently seizing persons under this pretext, whom they have afterwards sold to slave-dealers on their own accounts: or sometimes, if Christians happen to thus fall into their hands, they send them down to the coast to the European merchants there, from whom they often obtain considerable sums as ransoms.

On the evening of the following day the messenger who had been dispatched to the king returned, accompanied by three armed Moors on horseback, who were to be our escort, and at day-break the ensuing morning they conducted me over the river; for which passage the fare of each person is six zimpo. In a short time we arrived at Boofu, which is a small but lively busy-looking town, consisting of two hundred houses and one hundred huts, and is about half a day's journey from Haoussa. The caravans which pass from Haoussa, Feene, Sille, and Tambuko, to Vangara and the kingdom of Mohopharo, always stop here, to lay in a store of provisions for themselves and food for their horses, to serve during the remainder of the journey, which they can do at a much cheaper rate here

than at Haoussa. On our arrival we were taken to the *akommoni* (judge) who first entertained us with a hospitable repast, and then interrogated me, through an interpreter, as to the motives for my journey. After I had replied to his questions, he attempted to enter into a negociation with my conductors; offering to pay them six hundred zimpo if they would deliver me up to him; which had they done, I should soon have been sold again as a slave, at a considerable profit to him. They rejected his offer, however, reminding him of the king's order, that all travelling strangers should be conducted to him. Six more armed men were now added to our escort, to guard us to the capital, in order that I should be brought before the king. We had still three German miles to travel, but I did not think the journey in any degree tedious, so well was I amused; people were continually passing us on the road, and my attention was kept thoroughly awake by a diversity of objects.

It was quite dark before we reached Haoussa. This city is seated upon a pretty steep eminence, and may be seen from a great distance. The king had retired to rest before our arrival, and we were therefore obliged to remain at the guard-house next the gate till the morning; but here we were excellently well entertained, and in particular got some delicate-tasted goat's flesh. About eight o'clock next morning I was conducted to the palace, and admitted into the king's presence. He dictated a vast number of questions which were put to me. The occasional mention of my travels in my answers seemed particularly to interest him, and he expressed an eager desire to hear an account of them at large. To convince him that I had not entered his kingdom as a spy, and at the same time to gratify his curiosity, I drew out my journal from the inside of my waistcoat, and related from it many occurrences, particularly such as I thought would afford him the most amusement. The interpreter as I went on marked down on a piece of wood those passages which I had selected for communication,
and

and then delivered them to the king. When I had concluded, and he had read the whole, he desired that some meat and drink should be given me, and that then I should be conducted to the apartments appropriated to his servants, and a cloak be provided for me: his orders were instantly obeyed, and I now laid aside my sheep-skin mantle and waistcoat. This new cloak was made according to the fashion of the country, very long, and of a reddish-coloured linen. There were sixty-eight of the royal servants including myself; our business was to attend the king twice a day to the temple, and once to that part of the city where he issued his public orders: another part of our duty was in our turns to carry his litter when he went any where out of the city; eight persons at a time were employed in this last office, so that it came in rotation to each but once in several weeks.

I had been about a fortnight in this situation, when the king signified his intention of making an excursion to Boozu, and to visit some places in its neighbourhood. I received orders to prepare for this expedition, it being my turn to be one of the king's bearers. I was very much distressed with the idea of being obliged to perform this service to such a distance, as it was necessary to wear a kind of harness, and to go in a gait to which I was unaccustomed. At the beginning of our journey I went on tolerably well; but it being the custom never to halt by the way, I became at length so faint, and overcome with fatigue, that I sunk to the ground. The Moors, my fellow-bearers, attempted to raise me, but being utterly unable to assist myself, I again fell down. Upon this they unfastened their straps from the litter, and were beginning to scourge me with them, but I cried out as loud as I could in the hope of attracting the king's attention. He did hear me, and desiring a halt might be made, enquired into the matter: on being informed of it, he ordered one of his moorish attendants on horseback to alight, give me his horse, and take my place as bearer. This proof of favour drew

on me the jealousy and hatred of several of the attendants; but out of respect to the king, they did not shew it openly, as they saw he treated me with much kindness,

After a stay of six days the king set out on his return to the capital; and previous to his departure, gave orders that I should not be employed as a bearer, but attend him on horseback: I was glad to obey his commands, and on our arrival, having restored the horse to his owner, testified my gratitude. As I had not much employment to engage me, I made out some for myself; amongst other ways of passing my time, I frequently went to look at a man who executed some works in wood. He was much pleased with the attention I paid, and hoped he should by that means have an opportunity of learning many things of me. During those times that I visited him I made a square table, and a sort of cupboard; they were not, indeed, quite so well finished as those of a European joiner; but let it be considered, that I had not the proper tools; a sharp knife was the only substitute I had for a chissel; and I was obliged to use stones instead of a fine plane. I had gone backward and forwards to the house of this man for about ten days, when the king one morning sent for me, and desired me not to go any more into the city for any purpose. The real cause of this prohibition was, that attempts had been making to infuse suspicions into his mind respecting me, and to persuade him that I meditated evil designs. I exculpated myself from all bad intentions, saying, that I had not been employed in any harm, having only gone sometimes to see a man work at a trade of which I had myself some knowledge. He was highly pleased to hear this, and said, since I was a workman in wood he would employ me. I promised to execute some things for him in that way, and he immediately gave orders that wood should be brought me, and at the same time granted me his permission to go for two hours every day into the city.

The

The first piece of work I executed for the king, was a chest of eight drawers; I next made him a small cabinet, which I painted red and yellow. Both performances excited his highest approbation; he was never tired of looking at and admiring them; had them now placed in one situation, then changed to another; was always putting one thing in them, and then taking it out and replacing it with something else. I now made him handles of bone for three knives and as many forks, surrounding them with rings of silver, on which I engraved some of the letters of his name, as "M. H. Y." for Maohaouffary, giving the whole as high a polish as I could: these he received with inexpressible satisfaction, assuring me I should not long remain unrewarded.

I, one festival day, requested permission to walk a little way out of the city to look at the surrounding country; this he not only readily granted, but gave me a passport to secure me from being stopped: this was a piece of wood with the half of a tiger carved upon it, which is the royal arms: he told me I might be absent till sun-set, but that then I must return to attend him to the temple. I accordingly took my way through the north gate, as far as the village Vahafua, which is about an hour's walk from the city. As I approached this place, I was met by three men on horseback, who rode directly up to me; they took me for a deserter, and told me that if I did not immediately surrender, and return with them, they would bind me, and take me back a prisoner. Finding I hesitated in obeying them, they leaped from their horses and struck at me with their sabres. I now produced my pass, but they snatched it from me, and binding my hands, hung me dangling between their two horses, and thus carried me back to the city, and I was immediately ushered into the royal presence, where I was accused of attempting to make my escape, but that I had fortunately fallen into their hands. The king was astonished at all this, saying, that he had given me a pass, and enquired what was come of it. They presented

presented it to him, assuring him that they had been obliged to take it from me to prevent my carrying my design into execution. One of them then entered into a detail of many circumstances, each of which was a falsehood, assuring him that I had attacked them; with many assertions equally unfounded.

While all this was passing, I listened in profound silence, not attempting to advance a single word in my justification. This struck the king as something extraordinary, and turning to me, he demanded whether I was guilty of what was alledged against me. I denied the charge, referring to the licence granted by his pass, as the reason for my having rambled to where they had met me; adding, that as I was not at all master of the language of the country, those men might have misconceived the meaning of my words, and thence concluded that I designed to insult them. The king attended with the utmost patience and complacency during the whole of this scene, which I looked upon as a favourable omen for me, and began to feel a degree of comfort. At length, however, he ordered that I should be kept in close custody; and desired my principal accuser to wait here, that he might on the following day be witness to the punishment that should be inflicted on me. Despair now took entire possession of me; and in the anticipation of that death which I really believed inevitable, I slept not a moment during the whole night. In the morning four soldiers entering my prison, desired me to follow them; I obeyed, and as we passed, I perceived some of the numerous spectators eye me with looks of commiseration, whilst others, scattered amongst the crowd, wore an air of exultation, as if enjoying my misery.

I was conducted to the place allotted for public punishment, where thirty soldiers on foot, and twenty on horseback were drawn up in a circle: in the midst a buffalo's skin was extended on the ground, near which stood six young men, two of the strongest looking, with twisted leathern thongs in their hands.

A uni-

A universal tremor seized me, and I had nearly fainted away on thus, as I imagined, beholding death so near, or if not death, what was scarcely less terrifying in contemplation, a merciless scourging. The king now arrived, attended by his officers, and immediately called for my chief accuser to stand forth; he obeyed with much alacrity, springing into the midst of the circle apparently elated with inward satisfaction. The king then asked me where it had been my intention to go? "To Vahafua," I answered. "Where didst thou meet this stranger?" resumed he, turning to my adversary. "On the private road beyond Vahafua*," replied the man. He had scarcely uttered these words, when the king ordered him to be stripped, thrown on the buffalo's skin, and sixty lashes to be given him on the belly. The surrounding throng were astonished at thus seeing that punishment they believed intended for me transferred to my accuser; but their wonder ceased when the king thus proceeded: "None here shall with impunity belie a stranger, injure him in his person, or seek to draw on him an unmerited punishment." After having undergone the decreed chastisement, the delinquent was expelled beyond the borders of the country, whilst I was appointed to fill his post, and was presented with his horse. Every thing being thus adjusted, the king related to me the circumstances which had led him to search strictly into the merits of the cause lately depending between me and the exiled criminal. He immediately perceived, he said, that my accuser was the same man who, by his orders, on the road to Boofu, had been obliged to alight, resign his horse to me, and take my place as litter-bearer. That upon that occasion he had perceived in his countenance marks of deep displeasure, and of resentment against me; consequently, on hearing his accusation of me, it had struck him that it was dictated by revenge and

o 6 malice;

* This road leads to Feene, and numbers had fled thither on secretly effecting their escape from this territory.

malice ; and having caused his two comrades in that business to be closely examined, their confession had fully confirmed his suspicions.

Having thus, for the present, escaped, I took the opportunity of petitioning the king for permission to depart on the prosecution of my travels ; but to this he would not consent, saying, "It is now thy duty to obey my commands." The *matially* (subaltern officer) of the Moors, now took me under his direction, and delivered me up my horse, but with no other furniture than a rope-halter, and a goat-skin to serve as a saddle. This I did not by any means like, foreseeing that I should never be able to manage him with these equipments ; but should run the risk of disasters similar to what I had met with on a former occasion. I therefore determined to apply to the king again, and beg of him either to consent to my departure, or fix me in some other office. I was the next morning summoned to attend him, when the first question he asked me was, whether I could ride ? I answered in the negative : "Exert thyself to learn then," said he : "for if thou wilt remain with me, I design thee to fill a higher station." The present I perceived was no time to renew my solicitations for leave to go, since he had of himself mentioned my staying with him ; and had I persisted in opposition to his will to urge my dismissal, I had every reason to apprehend that he would have sent me as a present to his brother-in-law Soomakaty* ; in which case certain misery would have been my future lot. I therefore resigned myself to my present destiny, with a hope of finding a favourable opportunity privily to effect my escape.

I now

* King of Zanfara, who, as I was informed, was a man of the most cruel disposition. The king of Haoussa's sister was really his wife ; but he kept besides four hundred concubines. When any of these had ceased to please him, he sold them to the slave-dealers ; and always had a search made in the country about for others to fill up the vacancies.

I now applied myself to learn to ride, and in a short time could sit so firm on my horse, as to be able to load and discharge my gun as I went on. The sole employment belonging to my office was to attend the king when he was carried in his litter, or when he rode out on his great camel, which was always led by four men; the rest of my time was at my own disposal, and I spent it generally either in carving little wooden toys, or in walking about the town to collect what information I could relative to the neighbouring nations. Two caravans from the Western Barbary passed through at different times on their way to Vanara; either of these I would gladly have joined could have stolen away, but that I found it impossible to accomplish. In some of my perambulations through the city, I formed an acquaintance with the richest merchant belonging to it, whose name was Koobi. This man carried on a most extensive traffic; had constantly two caravans on the road, consisting of a hundred and sixty beasts of burthen, with a proportionable number of slaves. One of the latter, a lively, intelligent young man, frequently amused me with the account of his travels; and from him, amongst many other useful articles of information, I obtained an accurate description of the route into the greater Barbary.

The rainy season had now come on, during which the king never rides or is carried out; and, except to the temple, does not stir beyond the court of his palace, in which latter place he then issues his decrees. I had consequently more time to take the necessary measures previous to my meditated flight; and as the first step, I exercised myself in the pronunciation of all the hardest words of the language spoken here; and sometimes took lessons from the slave I have mentioned in some of the most commonly used expressions of that of the neighbouring nations. Whilst I was making this and other preparations, the king one day shewed me a gun, the shoulder-piece of which was broken, and consulted me to know whether I thought my acquaintance,

acquaintance, his workman in wood, possessed sufficient skill to make a new one. I answered, that I would shew him how, and taking it with me, I myself made a new stock for it, which on my shewing the king, he was so highly pleased that he presented me with fifty zimpo.

I waited now only for the termination of the rainy season to make the attempt towards carrying my long-projected plan into execution; but it was for the present frustrated by a war breaking out between my master and the king of Vangara. Preparations were made for our taking the field as early as possible, and on the 24th of July the musters were completed, and the army ready to move. The rains were not yet over, but that did not retard us; and though the soldiers were generally obliged to march half the day up to their middles in water, neither their spirits or courage were in any degree depressed. The king of Vangara doubtless thought it a thing past all belief that our troops should be able to reach his frontiers through vallies deeply inundated by water, but in this he was mistaken. Besides this improbability, our king practised a stratagem to prevent the hostile monarch from knowing when he intended to advance with his army.

On the 22d of July, about noon, an officer arrived at our capital from that of the enemy, attended by four Moors, and bearing with him the declaration of war. This was written on narrow pieces of white leather, rolled round two poles. On delivering them, he said, the king, his master, intended soon to come and fetch them away again. Our king received them very graciously, treated the officer with the most cordial hospitality, telling him at the same time, that as soon as the plains were free from water, he would himself carry back the poles, or, in plain terms, would begin the war; in the mean time issuing private orders that his army should be got ready to march with all expedition.

Accordingly, on the 23d, before sun-rise, the infantry was in motion, and at noon was followed by
half

half the cavalry. The officer belonging to the enemy wanted to set out also that same day on his return, but the king represented to him that he had better stay till the following day, when he himself should accompany and protect him from the insults of his troops. On the 24th, at noon, the king set out, accompanied by his officers, with that belonging to the enemy; and attended by his body-guard, of which I made one. We came the first day to Taahafa, a small town consisting of two hundred huts; and here we were joined by five hundred Moors. On the 25th we passed the Niger at the imminent hazard of all our lives; twenty men of our number perished in the floods, which were swollen to a tremendous height: yet such of the cavalry as could not be forded over, were obliged to swim across the river on their horses. Soon after this passage we arrived at Muatoh, a village of forty huts, situated in the valley through which the Niger flows.

On the 26th and 27th our march lay to the east, over a chain of mountains; and about noon on the 28th we reached Krahota, or the gold mountains. Here we made a halt, and the enemy's officer was sent back to his king with a message, importing that king Maohaoufary was coming into his country accompanied by his forces, to make him a visit. A guard of twenty men were sent as an escort with the officer, as far as Hahfuto, a small town in the territory of Vangara.

He was scarcely gone when intelligence arrived that our infantry had already penetrated into the enemy's country, where they waited for further orders. No European army, that excepted which Buonaparte led over the stupendous mountains of Switzerland, would ever have undertaken or accomplished what I here saw performed by undisciplined troops. We had still before us two enormous chains of mountains, one turning only of which we had already crossed; but that we now approached was much more abruptly steep, more tremendously difficult of ascent than the former: to me, indeed, it appeared absolutely inaccessible; but I was witness to obstacles being overcome
which

which I thought beyond human exertions to conquer.

At day-break the king issued the necessary orders to his officers, and in the space of half an hour the cavalry which remained with us were drawn up in order, brandished their arms, and raised a deafening shout, which was reverberated by the mountains. *Osohsugo, koate aqulaty!* they cried (death and hell shall not deter us!) upon which they darted up the mountain with such rapidity that large splinters of the rock flew about; not a man, however, received the slightest hurt. The royal tent, with all the others, were now struck, and it came to my turn, with my companions of the guard, to clamber up the rugged steep. I alighted from my horse, and with infinite toil and difficulty attained the summit. The king remained seated on his camel, smoking a pipe of tobacco with the most perfect composure.

A new obstacle was now to be surmounted, for on our descent at the opposite side of the mountain, we came to an arm of the Niger, which must necessarily be crossed. The king still sat undisturbed on his camel, which was conducted through the water by swimming-slaves; and got safely over. I followed on horseback, and fortunately was equally successful; but I had another subject of annoyance; for the ropes I was here obliged to use instead of stirrups, had so rubbed the skin off my feet, that the blood ran from them, and the hurts gave me intolerable pain. The second ridge of mountains was now to be climbed, and whilst engaged in the arduous task, evening overtook us. At the bottom of this last mountain, on the further side, we entered on hostile ground, and here we halted and pitched our camp. At about the distance of three leagues before, we saw flames of fire and clouds of smoke rising in the air: this was occasioned by our infantry, who having marched onwards into the enemy's country, were already busily employed in plundering, burning, and destroying all before them. This sight excited universal joy in our camp.

mp, and songs and shouts of triumph echoed through its whole extent. On the following morning powder and pebble stones, instead of ball, were distributed to all our people; to servants and slaves, as well as the soldiers, nor were the priests themselves exempted from military duty. This distribution was that we might be prepared in case of an attack, which, however, was not thought likely to happen.

About noon on this day, sixty-two prisoners were brought to our camp, and from thence sent further on in the course of our late march. These poor wretches were miserable objects of compassion, so much were they maimed and disfigured; some with their limbs shot away, others desperately wounded with spears in different parts of the body, or hacked all over their heads and faces by sabres; they had besides been despoiled of every thing, their huts burned, and they were now entirely naked. We had, as may be supposed, nothing in the way of an hospital in our camp, nor indeed any kind of surgical preparations, or even styptics for staunching the blood; and when these unhappy beings, agonized with pain, expressed their sufferings by dismal howlings and lamentations, the king, as a mark of lenity and favour, ordered their wounds to be burned.

We now proceeded on our march, but very slowly; not getting that day no further than within about two leagues of the town of Kahsuto, where we again pitched our camp. A constant firing was heard the whole night through; during which also, officers were incessantly arriving with reports to the king, but I learned nothing of their purport. At break of day a hundred of our men were brought in wounded, together with thirty more prisoners taken from the enemy. We now learned that the main body of our army were employed in an attack on Kahsuto, which was resolutely defended by the enemy: our slaves were immediately sent off as a reinforcement to assist in reducing it; but this was not necessary, for they had not been gone an hour before we perceived Kahsuto all in flames, and

and a short time after intelligence arrived that the enemy had retired from the place, having previously set it on fire.

We now marched forward, our main army having gone on before. Our road through the whole of the day was very difficult, sometimes laying through tangled thickets, at others over plains of heavy sand; whilst on every side we saw villages reduced to ashes. We encamped close by the river Emog, on the opposite bank of which our main army was posted. This river flows from north to south through the whole territory of Vangara. Our situation here was thoroughly uncomfortable, for the plains contiguous to the river being still in most places under water, our footing was nothing but mud and slime; so that it was impossible to light a fire, and still more so, to attempt enjoying the refreshment of sleep. To the right of us, it is true, there was an eminence of considerable height; but to attain that we must have turned off to a much greater distance from our main body, to which we now wished to keep close, for the purpose of co-operating with them. Those amongst us who had horses, sat the whole night on their backs, as the only means of getting any kind of rest. When day began to dawn we crossed the river, and commenced our march directly towards the capital. Immediately on coming within sight of the hostile army, orders were given that the baggage should remain behind under my charge, with a guard of fifty soldiers and forty slaves; and the king, now taking the command of all his troops in person, advanced to meet the enemy: within a few hours the battle commenced, with such hideous cries and yellings on both sides, as struck a terror even into us who were at some distance from the scene of action.

Our army, rather less vigorous from not having enjoyed any rest for some days past, was several times driven back; but as constantly returned to the charge. The contest, till towards evening, was pretty equal, now one army giving way, again the other; so that victory remained quite undecided, when darkness coming

on, our forces were left masters of the field, the enemy retreating into the city. Two hundred prisoners fell into our hands, with a very inconsiderable share of booty. The chief brunt of the war might now be said to be over, as in the whole territory of Vanga there was not, except the plain where this action took place, a spot where a pitched battle could be fought; the face of the country presenting nothing but an alternate succession of forests, thickets, narrow valleys, and steep mountains.

From my observations during the recent contest, I discovered how miserably defective both parties were in tactics, and that with them the event depended solely on desperate resolution and superior strength. The action had lasted several hours, yet during the whole of that time our troops scarcely fired twenty times, and the enemy, I suppose, not oftener. Each time they were to load their firelocks, the whole army fell back, advancing again to discharge them; in the end too their powder fell short. We remained in our position two entire days, and on the third no overtures of peace being sent us by the enemy, we advanced towards the city. We now began to be much distressed by a deficiency of provisions, the stock we had brought with us being all consumed, and the enemy's country affording us nothing for a supply. A proclamation was therefore issued by the king, setting forth, that as it would not by any means be eligible to return back to their own country for provisions, whoever wished to procure any, must advance with him to the conquest of the capital. Where the king led, the army was obliged to follow, and consequently we pushed on.

For that whole day and a good part of the night, we proceeded without meeting with any thing that could serve as nourishment either to man or horse. When day broke we could plainly distinguish the city, from which we were now about a league distant. In whatever direction we turned our eyes, multitudes of men were to be seen, stragglers either from our own or the hostile army. The king was meditating the attack

tack of the capital with his troops, when a stop was put to this design by the enemy, who came pouring down in numbers from a height which stretches along one quarter of the city, and rushing upon us with impetuosity, a furious contest ensued. Being surrounded on all sides, we must inevitably have been cut to pieces, but for the heroic conduct of the Moors, who pressing forwards made themselves masters of the city; which they had no sooner achieved, than they dispatched an express to the king with intelligence of their success. Upon this we instantly received orders to force our way through the enemy, and follow the king into the city: these were obeyed with alacrity, and we joyfully pushed on, in the hope that we should now find a supply of food both for ourselves and horses; but in this we were totally disappointed, for not a single article in that way had been left. What the fugitive inhabitants had not been able to carry with them, or what had been in possession of those who remained behind, were soon consumed by that part of our army which had forced their way into the place; these had also set fire to it on the north side.

The king gave immediate orders that measures should be taken to extinguish the flames; and then called a council of his officers to consult on the steps now to be pursued. The quarters which fell to my share had formerly belonged to an officer; here was every other kind of convenience, but nothing to relieve the tortures of hunger. To those who had got no share of what plunder the city had afforded, a very scanty portion of meal was distributed, but this was barely sufficient to satisfy the appetite for a few hours. The next day was an interval of rest to all the army; except, indeed, to the king himself, who was busily employed in making the necessary arrangements. I was appointed to attend him in a progress through the city, in order to see whether any sort of provisions were to be procured; but none were to be found, and at every step scenes of distress and misery met our view: mothers with their children incessantly prostrating themselves at the feet

the king, and imploring his pity; but he listened not to their doleful pleadings, desiring them not to trouble him and bar his passage, or they should be punished with instant death. I was deeply affected by their sufferings, and could not help feeling a degree of disgust towards the king; however, I made some allowances, considering that during the tumults of war, pity is laid aside, and that on former occasions I had seen him display proofs of a humane and compassionate disposition. That very evening, indeed, I had reason to confirm my favourable opinion of him, for on issuing orders to quit the city the next morning, he gave a strict charge that it should not be set on fire, as was the usual practice; nor would he suffer the defenceless inhabitants, nor any but such as had been found in arms, to be carried away as prisoners or slaves; commanding that they should be left in undisturbed possession of their huts.

The city of Vangara is something more than a league in length, and about half that space in breadth. It contains six rows of houses and huts, forming three main streets, running in parallel lines from north to south. The houses are built of unhewn stones and mortar; the huts of clay and rushes. At the end of each street stands a temple, and the market-place is in the centre of the city, where a cross street intersects the three principle ones. The palace is built of common stones and mortar, and is inclosed by a wall six feet high; which in many places had been suffered to fall into decay, and exhibited upon the whole a wretchedly poor appearance. The city itself is surrounded by paddocks, in which are also chafms, and the remainder appears rotten. On the south side is a pool for watering the cattle, six feet in depth; and from hence, in case of a drought, the inhabitants procure what water they use.

At dawn of day we left the city, and again pitched our tents in the position we had formerly occupied at the foot of the mountain which formed the frontiers; the cavalry in front, the infantry bringing up the rear.

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On the 23d an officer came to our camp on the part of the enemy, with proposals of peace, which the king agreed to accept, provided the king of Vangara would come and treat with him in person. He did so without delay, and a well-ratified contract of peace and mutual friendship was entered into on the following terms: 1. The king of Vangara shall every year send to the king of Haoussa twenty slaves. 2. The king of Vangara shall furnish assistance to the king of Haoussa at any time when he shall be attacked by other nations; for which he shall receive the spoils which shall be taken by his troops on all such occasions. 3. All the cattle which the subjects of the king of Vangara have carried off from the kingdom of Haoussa shall be restored. 4. The two kings reciprocally grant a freedom of trade between the subjects of both nations.

Peace being now concluded, the two kings treated each other with every appearance of the most cordial friendship; smoked their pipes together, and conversed on indifferent subjects, without bestowing a thought on those ill-fated wretches, who during the campaign had been taken prisoners, and were thence doomed to perpetual slavery; as each power retained the captives it had made. This war had cost about a thousand men on each side; many towns and villages had been destroyed, and some thousands of inhabitants totally despoiled of their property, and left destitute of dwelling places. On the 26th the peace was finally concluded, and on the 28th we accompanied our king on his return to his capital.

During the campaign I had taken pains to acquire some friends, and in particular had cultivated an intimacy with many of the Moors, with a view of gaining lights from them in points relative to the course of my further travels. I still adhered to my determination of seizing the first favourable opportunity that offered for effecting my escape; and had decided on going to Feene, which was a journey of about three days and a quarter from where I now was. But I will here suspend the narrative of my proceedings for a little, whilst

Will I give a more detailed description of the country where I had now been a resident for so many months. The kingdom of Haoussa is by far the most charming country through which I passed in Africa, during the whole of my journey from the Cape. It is bounded on the east by the kingdom of Mophaty (*Zanfara*) on the north by the territory of Fomingho*, on the west by the kingdom of Feene, and on the south by that of Bahahara. The river Niger flows through a part of it and whilst it gives fertility to the grounds, bestows on the inhabitants the advantages of commerce; as by numbers of vessels pass from Tambuko to Boosu, from whence their lading is transported further through the country by caravans. The soil of this fine district is commonly fruitful; and were its inhabitants a civilized people, they might produce the richest stores of wealth. Animals of all kinds abound through it; there is great plenty of fine timber, and a variety and profusion of fruits. In the woods are found honey and wax; the mountains yield salt and salt-petre; and were their bowels to be explored, mines might be discovered which would produce endless treasures. The country is inhabited by three distinct nations: 1. The Sentygoetys, who dwell on the southern frontiers; 2. The Kahmosanians on those to the east; and 3. The Houssans who possess the central division. The dress of the inhabitants of the latter place, is in general long rags of different coloured linens, fastened round the body; instead of shoes, narrow bands of leather wound cross each other over the feet; and round the head, usually, a piece of coloured linen or cotton cloth is tied. The only distinction in the apparel of the soldiers is, that they alone wear a red cloth, made of goat's-hair or cotton, round their heads; their cloaks are of the common kind. Those worn by the Moors are

A tract of country about between ten and twelve German miles in length, and five or six in breadth. I have never seen it marked in any map.

are short, and amongst the lower orders, made of red linen. Officers and merchants usually dress in silk.

The men are large in their persons, strong made, and of undaunted courage in war. The women are more delicately formed, and very pleasing in their looks. The complexions both of men and women are a clear brown, with flat noses, large eyes, and fine white teeth. The Moors look white comparatively, and are of middling stature. They are not natives of this country, but come from the desert of Sahara, and serve as soldiers, for their maintenance and clothing. They are all expert horsemen, and by their skill and activity in that way keep the enemy against whom they are engaged in continual bustle. They reside in the towns and villages, and have their own distinct houses and huts, being not held in any high estimation by the native inhabitants. They are naturally much addicted to theft, but are restrained from exercising their talents in that art here, from the dread of the punishment attendant on its detection, which is very severe: the offender receives a certain number of lashes on the belly from the person robbed, and is then driven out of the country.

The native Haoussans are a kind-hearted obliging people; neither injuring a stranger themselves, nor allowing him to sustain any injury which they can prevent. Each one amongst them lays himself out to entertain the traveller in the best manner he is able, who applies to him for hospitality; and then takes pains at his departure to point out the best road for him to pursue. This last point they are particularly attentive to the performance of, lest their guest should fall into the hands of the Moors, who would not scruple to waylay, attack and rob him; nor even to convey him away privately, and sell him for a slave. In their domestic arrangement they are cleanly and fond of regularity. Each person, before he commences his daily employment, repeats a prayer, either in the open air or in the temple. When the weather is lowering they never go to labour in the fields, however necessary it
may

may be; yet they practise more of agriculture than any of the other nations I had visited. The Moors are Mahometans, but the religion of this country is Paganism: they have priests in great numbers, but these enjoy no privileges superior to the other inhabitants; and must equally with them cultivate the fields and perform domestic offices if they wish for a comfortable subsistence. They are entrusted with the instruction of children, and their lessons are generally given in the temples. Circumcision is practised, and performed always at the full of the moon, the child may be either one or six-and-twenty days old. The art of writing is known here, and to exercise children in it they make use of a kind of thin board, which they strew over with sand, and in this they trace the characters, either with the bones of fish or those of other animals which are fine enough for the purpose. The course of the children's education is completed from their sixth to their tenth year; from the latter period they are employed in domestic offices. A single goat is the reward the priest receives for the entire instruction of a child. When any festivals are to be celebrated the priests announce it to the people, as that of the new moon for instance, upon which they go to the temple at sun-rise, accompanied by all their pupils; and when the rest of the congregation is assembled repeat prayer, which they do standing, whilst their auditors prostrate themselves on the ground with their faces turned, towards the sun. The children stand round the priest in a circle, and seem to feel real devotion. As soon as the prayer is ended, if there be any infants they are presented for circumcision; when this is performed the priest lays the circumcised child on the ground whilst he delivers a kind of lecture, and then gives it back to the mother with divers ceremonies.

Their temples are constructed with great simplicity; those in the villages are of the same materials as their huts, that is, rushes, covered at top with palm-leaves, and plaistered on the inside with mortar, which

they

they paint or dye with a sort of stuff of a red colour, found in the country. In the towns the temples are built of stones piled in a particular manner, and curiously decorated within by those stones being alternately painted blue, red, black, or other colours: they have also sometimes figures carved on them.

The king has absolute and unlimited authority over the whole of his dominions and subjects. He cannot be said to have any minister; his officers are nominally of his council, and to them is delegated the jurisdiction of the towns, but without the power of decision in points of any importance till they have his approbation. The sentences he himself pronounces are often very severe; punishing even slight offences with sometimes thirty at others sixty lashes on the belly, and this inflicted with leathern thongs twisted together. Persons detected in theft are usually hanged, and the execution is thus performed: a post is fixed in the ground, from which project two pieces of iron half a foot in length each, bent up in front, and barbed like fish-hooks; on these the lower part of the delinquent's chin is fixed, and he is left suspended with his hands and feet bound together. Those condemned to suffer so generally survive in this state from six and-thirty to eight-and-forty hours. As a mitigation of the punishment criminals are sometimes hung by the neck on these hooks; in which case a couple of hours puts an end to their torture.

The military force amounts to eighteen or twenty thousand infantry, all natives, and six thousand Moorish cavalry. Many of them in time of war carry muskets and large sabres; others are armed with lances four feet in length. The king always heads his army in person when it takes the field: his neighbours stand very much in awe of him, even though their troops be superior in number.

The commerce is of very considerable extent which is carried on by and through this country; its situation and fertility being both very favourable for it. The caravans which pass and repass always stop here to supply

ply themselves with provisions of all kinds necessary for men and horses on their journey, contracting also as they go for what they shall want on their return. The products exported from this country are, to Tambuko, manna, dates, and cotton; into Barbary, ambergris, gums, and musk; and to the kingdom of Tookahat *, ivory, skins, and ostrich-feathers:

The city of Haoussa may be certainly considered as one of the largest in Africa; being half a day's journey in length, and two German miles in breadth †. I was never able to learn with any degree of certainty the number either of the inhabitants or of the houses and huts it contains. It has nine streets extending from east to west, called after the nine first months of the year: these are; 1. *The Yock*, or flesh-street; 2. *Vaa-hatiy*, fire-street; 3. *Teethoyoty*, lion-street; 4. *Saawoo*, calf-street; 5. *Ninyoto*, porcupine-street; 6. *Nahary*, camel-street; 7. *Tarankyato*, moon-street; 8. *Mili-kotoala*, dark-street; and, 9. *Sattomially*, commerce-street.

Besides these principal streets there are sixteen cross or half streets which do not however intersect the others: they are all of them paved, and afterwards strewn with a very thick covering of sand. The houses, like the temples, are chiefly composed of stones and mortar, none of them more than one story high: they are not built close together, passages being left between to prevent the spreading of the flames in cases of fire. I was assured that within the city itself are two hundred and fifty temples. Here are four market-places: the first, called the man-market, where slaves are sold; a second, caravan-market, in which the travelling merchants dispose of their articles of traffic; a third, cattle-market, for the sale of flesh-meat; and the

* A kingdom twenty days journey from Haoussa, bordering on Guinea.

† Mr. M. Park is quite erroneous in placing this city at the distance of two days journey from the Niger; and must have depended too implicitly on the account given him by some person entirely ignorant of the geography of the country.

the fourth is a place for exercising, and called the parade. The palace is situated on the south side, and reputed a place of great strength, it being surrounded with a double wall and a deep ditch. In the city and palace together a garrison is kept, generally consisting of three thousand men. There are manufactories of linens and earthen-ware, both of which articles are sent by the caravans to different countries for sale. The number of merchants residing in the city are computed to be about three hundred: these carry on trade to a vast extent, keeping caravans themselves to send and bring back their merchandizes; thus diffusing commerce to considerable distances on every side. As all strangers are allowed a liberty of trade, many resort hither upon that account; and particularly numbers of Jews, who come at stated periods, for the purpose of obtaining gold, silver, ivory, and dye-stuffs, in exchange for iron-wire, swords, powder and ball, looking-glasses, with other articles.

There are some houses in the suburbs much handsomer and more commodious than those in the city itself; though the former are inhabited only by artificers, chiefly smiths and potters. At the distance of about a league to the west of the city is a spring, over which has been constructed a bath for the use of the king and his principal officers. It is composed of straw, covered at the top with palm leaves, and lined with cotton, a plantation of cotton trees surrounding it. The water rises hot from this spring, which, as I have been told, throws up a quantity of gold sand as it issues from the earth. I will not, however, take upon me to vouch for the truth of this circumstance, as I never was permitted to enter the bathing house; that liberty being prohibited, under pain of death, without the king's special licence. Thus much only I can say on the subject: that I observed the king had gold-dust to dispose of in barter, which I know not how he could procure in any other way.

Each year, in the month of September, which is here the finest season, the king goes to Boofu, where he
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spends some time, for the purpose of exercising his troops. With the view of extending my acquaintance, and thereby acquiring still more information respecting those countries through which my future route lay. I frequently obtained permission of the king to visit the suburbs, and the adjacent districts. One impediment however there was in these excursions to the execution of my meditated project; for, by the king's command, I was constantly attended by a Moor, to protect me from any insult that might be offered me, ever since the unfortunate predicament into which I had fallen some time before: indeed, I had become the object of royal solicitude, lest any disaster should happen to me; and notice had been published, that whoever attempted to injure me should be punished with death. This, it is true, on one hand, was a very agreeable circumstance, as it secured me from all molestation in my rambles; but on the other, I was not so well pleased with it, as it retarded, perhaps might totally prevent, my design. I was therefore obliged to change my plan of conduct. Accordingly I went no more out, confining myself at home under pretence of indisposition. The Moorish officer who had the superintendence of the king's servants, the second day enquired what was the matter with me; I answered that I found symptoms of a fever; he immediately reported this to the king, who consulted a priest what would be the best means to employ for my recovery. I could not have met with any thing more accordant to my wishes than the prescription of the priest, which was, that I must bathe daily. In consequence of this advice, the king sent me notice, that I must bathe twice every day in a small lake a little way out of the city, for the re-establishment of my health. In order that he might entertain no suspicions, I sent him back word that I was too weak and ill to go so far. He would not however accept my excuse, but sent orders to a Moor to assist and even to carry me, in case of necessity; and to take all possible care of me. For more than a week I did as I was directed to forward my cure; but during

ring that time I perceived not a glimpse of hope that I should be able to effect my escape, my attendant never for a moment quitting me.

At length, on the ninth day, feigning to be more than commonly weak and low, I told the Moor as we went out in the morning, that I should not return till evening, as I had obtained permission to stay out the whole of the day. Not doubting the truth of what I told him, he replied, that he would then, that being the case, go home to the city for the present, and return in the evening to fetch me. He had no sooner disappeared than I set off with the swiftest speed I could exert, taking the road that led to the kingdom of Feene. After proceeding thus for about two hours I was overtaken by some Moors on horseback, who enquired where I was going. I answered, that having been ill, I was ordered by the king to take exercise, as the means most conducive to my recovery. They believed it to be as I said; but advised me go no further on that road, as a wood, to which they pointed, to the north-west was generally infested by robbers. I returned them thanks for this kind intimation, and, sitting down, said I would rest myself for an hour, and then return to town. They then rode on, which I was glad to see; as, had they returned to the city, the intelligence would soon have been spread of what road I had taken. I now again ran forward as fast as I was able, and though I saw people at different intervals, at work in the fields on each hand, yet I found means to avoid them. I at length came to the wood which had been shewn me, and laid myself down beneath its shade for an hour, after which I once more pursued my way.

I had some time since taken the precaution to secure my compass and my journal in a piece of goat skin, which I fastened with thongs round me under my cloak, that if any unforeseen opportunity for flight presented itself those very essential appendages might not be left behind me. As I now proceeded onwards I still saw many people, but none of them detained or questioned me. I plucked some dates to eat, but thought not of other

other food, caring only for my safety. On coming out of the wood I saw some villages, but, guessing them to be inhabited by Moors, I kept aloof from them. Towards night I passed close by two villages that I might not deviate from my direct line of travel; and here I met with another party of Moors to whom I was known; but they supposing I was travelling upon some business for the king made no attempt to stop me. On the third day from my departure I entered the kingdom of Feene, rejoiced beyond measure to feel myself once more at liberty. From the place where I now was to Biledulgerid stretches an extensive waste, called the Desart of Sahara.

On the morning of the 17th of September I encountered a troop of Moors on horseback, who demanded of me who I was, and whither bound. I replied, that I was a gun-maker belonging to Biledulgerid*, travelling in hopes of making something by my trade. "Go to Feene," said they, "there thou wilt meet with employment; but thou art not in the road which leads thither; it lies more to the right." I thanked them for thus setting me right, and was turning to go on, but, urged by the cravings of hunger, I requested to know if they could let me have either some meal or flesh-meat: they told me I should get both at the next village; and thither I made the best of my way: it is called Yelly, and contains fifty huts, so constructed that they can easily
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* I had seen some of those people at Haoussa, whose occupation I now assumed; and though my complexion was not naturally so dark as theirs, yet in my present state of dirt, both my body and features being all over covered with it, my being a foreigner could not have been ascertained: my hair too had the same crisp curl which I observed that of those gun-makers to have. These men have liberty to travel through all parts of the country, but they never fix their residence any where. It was now November, which is the time when they return from Barbary; and to account for my not having gone there, I intended to say that the king had kept me at Haoussa because of the war in which he had been lately engaged.

be taken to pieces: they are contrived so because this place lying in the near neighbourhood of the Niger, when that river overflows during the rainy season the grounds here are under water; the inhabitants therefore always leave it for two months in the year, and go up the mountains.

I here made a plentiful meal of tortoise flesh and meal, after which I again set out on my journey towards the mountain, over a road so deep that I often sunk up to my knees in the mire. The mountains here exhibit a dreary view, consisting of nothing but barren rock and sand, yet on the eastern side they are inhabited. I stopped for the night in one of the villages, the people belonging to which subsist by gathering salt from this ridge, and carrying it to Feene and Sille for sale. They are very poor, yet they supplied me with some meal, and not uncomfortable lodging.

On the 18th my path lay over a fertile plain, and led me to the handsome village of Pygohsityn, situated at about the distance of a league from the Niger. It consists of a hundred neat huts, inhabited partly by Arabs, and partly by the original natives of the country. The chief man of the place, stiled the *yonhaty*, received me with much kindness; and, on my announcing myself as a gun-maker, begged I would repair his fire-arms. This disconcerted me a good deal, not having any tools, which did not agree with my account of myself: however, with a steady countenance, I told him that, having been robbed by the way, I had not any of the implements belonging to my trade, but hoped soon to replace them. The man seemed sincerely to feel for my loss, and, unwilling to lose the opportunity of having his work done, furnished me with an old knife, a small hammer, and a pair of pincers; pressing me to try whether I could not with these do something of what he required of me. I accordingly made the attempt, and it succeeded greatly to his satisfaction. So far I escaped suspicion as to the reality of the character I now appeared

peared in; but still there was one circumstance which might lead to detection, and that was my not speaking the language of those people. Some of the words and phrases I now heard I could make out, but could not by any means make myself plainly understood in my turn: whereas the gun-smiths who usually travel into this country are perfect masters of the Mon-grarian dialect, it being universally spoken through most of the countries they visit in their progress. It is indeed the vernacular tongue from hence quite into Barbary. The Somathalian is that which is commonly used in Haoussa. For this deficiency I was obliged to invent some concealment, which I did by affecting a kind of impediment in my speech which prevented my speaking plain, and luckily this passed. I continued here two days putting the guns given me for that purpose into as good order as my wretched tools would admit of. I required no payment for my trouble, but received on my going away, as presents, a piece of wire, a pair of pincers, and a hammer.

On the 20th I resumed my journey, and passed a number of scattered huts, and some villages. In one of the latter, about two leagues distance from Feene, I was taken under the charge of some Moors, who conducted me to that capital, and took me immediately on our arrival, to the *yonhaty* there. He seemed much surprized that, as a travelling gun-smith, I should not understand the language of the country. I accounted for this by saying it was the first journey I had ever made into those parts. He expressed no further doubts, but looked at me with a kind of curiosity. My appearance indeed had something extraordinary in it; the hue of my skin, darkened by dirt, and my hair in great disorder about my face. I was his guest for the night, and the next morning he gave the king notice of my arrival, from whom he received orders to keep me at his house, give me whatever work was to be done, and take care that I was provided with every proper conveniency. In consequence of these directions, a commodious

wooden hut was got ready for me to work in, where my host first brought me his own arms to repair, and afterwards informed his neighbours in what manner I was to be employed. I was abundantly supplied with meat and drink, but was obliged to work almost incessantly, such numbers of damaged guns were brought me from every quarter to be set to rights.

After some time, my host asked me one morning, why I did not go sometimes to prayers at the temple? I answered, that I should have had much satisfaction in doing so, had I not been kept constantly employed by so much work being given me; but that now I was ready to attend him thither. I accordingly wrapped my cloak about me and followed him; whilst there I behaved so as to be taken by all present for one of their own religion. It was no difficult matter for me indeed to join in their different ceremonies, having been accustomed to see, and even frequently to assist in their performance whilst at Haoussa. Besides, these people are not so tenaciously biggoted to their own mode of worship, as those of many of the Christian countries of Europe; but deem those sufficiently religious who frequent the temples and attend to their prayers. I have even seen some of the Moors come in during their religious services with tobacco-pipes in their mouths, without giving offence, or incurring any bad treatment on that account.

I had now resided here a month, attending only to my business, except latterly going to the temple once every day. This new practice, however, made me more publicly known, and in consequence brought me work almost beyond my power of performance. Even many of the merchants sent me their guns to repair, and swords to mend and sharpen; for this trouble indeed they paid me very well; and in the course of this last and the two following months I acquired earnings sufficient to support me for an entire year: I was, besides, presented with several articles of cloathing; for the story of my having been plundered of every thing on my way thither, had been propagated by

by my host. The king's attention was now again attracted towards me by the encomiums of the Moors, who spoke highly both of the manner in which I executed my work, and the regularity of my conduct. He therefore sent for my host, and made many enquiries both as to my performances and my behaviour. He received from him an equally favourable report; in consequence of which I also had a summons to attend him. He ordered some broken guns and swords to be given me to mend and furbish, and asked me some questions, as, how I liked the country, and when I would return to it again. I answered in the manner which I thought best calculated to please him, saying, I should like to continue here as long as I could be supplied with work. This declaration seemed to give him much satisfaction, and he dismissed me with assurances of his future favour.

My host was a man of a retired disposition; I therefore had not much of his company; but, to amuse myself whilst at work, I conversed a great deal with the slaves appointed to attend me; and by that means acquired a very competent knowledge of the language of the country. In order that I might have a personal acquaintance with such persons as had kindly made me presents, I requested my friendly host to take me to wait on them, for the purpose of expressing my gratitude. He conducted me first to the house of a merchant, named Soomo, who had sent me a cloak not much the worse for the wearing he had given it. This man was extremely civil, and even kind to me; gave immediate orders that a melon and a bowl of goat's milk should be set before me, presented me with a small saw and a chissel, and promised to promote my interest as much as was in his power. From another person I received a knife, a piece of cloth for a turban, and some nails.

When I had completely cleaned and mended all the arms belonging to the king, I made for my host a small cabinet, and a kind of carriage of a size to hold a child. This excited much admiration, but it

brought me such a number of applications as was not in my power to comply with, having decided on setting out as soon as I could. To travel by myself, however, was too hazardous to be undertaken, as the direct road to the borders of Biledulgerid lay over vast deserts, which were the resort of numerous bands of men who subsisted solely by rapine. I might, it is true, have taken a line to the westward; but even by this way I should not have been safe, particularly if the inhabitants had any suspicion of my being a Christian.

I had now resided here six months, during which time not a single opportunity presented itself for the prosecution of my journey in the way I wished, as no caravans had passed: a large one had been expected, which comes hither annually from Tunis on its way to Tambakto; and I found great apprehensions were entertained of its having been attacked, plundered, and dispersed by the way; as on former years it had arrived and set out on its departure again before this time. At length my host informed me that a small caravan was preparing to set out for Sille, and advised me to proceed with it, the return of the large one being now despaired of. He at the same time offered to recommend me to his brother, who resided in that town. For this purpose he gave me a small piece of linen, on which he had written some words which were to procure me a favourable reception from his brother. Accordingly, having taken leave of him and of my kind friends, the merchants who had furnished me with provisions for my journey, and given me their hearty good wishes, I again set forward on the 7th of April.

C H A P. XIII.

Description of the town of Feene, and the territory of which it is the capital.—Some errors of Mungo Park corrected.—The author goes from Feene to Nakgo, takes shipping and proceeds up the river by Metata and Parasiet to Sille.—Description of that town.—From thence the author travels with a caravan to Mata, Saatata, and the Sanoho, or gold mountain, on the borders of the kingdom of Nytokka to the Siegnartons, an independent tribe who dwell in caves.—Description of the sandy deserts.—The caravan proceeds and arrives amongst the Arabs, whose habitations are huts, and the Mihoyadans, a robust and warlike race, but honest and obliging.—The caravan attacked by the Carvations, but suffer no loss.—Observations concerning the last mentioned nation.—On the 24th of May the caravan ascends a steep mountain.—From the 25th to the 30th travel over a sandy desert. On the first of June come to a village in the kingdom of Vatometh, where they stop some days for rest and refreshment.—Leave it on the fifth, cross a chain of mountains, and, at the imminent risk of the lives both of the men and camels, are obliged to swim across an arm of the river Sampi, much swollen by the floods.—Pass over some sandy flats, and reach the confines of the kingdom of Tamobata (Targa).—Are attacked by a parcel of Moors, by which they lose two men and a camel.—Arrive at length at the mountains which bound the desert of Sahara.

OF the nations who inhabit the desert of Sahara, between Feene and the confines of Biledulgerid, as well as those dwelling in other parts of the desert, I shall speak at large hereafter; at present I shall confine myself to the description of the town and country of Feene,

Feene*. The town is situated on a barren eminence, which, during the rainy season is entirely surrounded with water, so that there is scarcely a possibility of passing or repassing within the distance of half a league of it all round. Those whose indispensable business obliges them to do so, must mount either a horse or a camel, and even then run the risk of being drowned. The town is about two leagues in circumference, and is well built according to the style of architecture practised in those countries. There are four principal streets: the space in the centre where they cross each other is the market-place. In this are to be seen for sale large assortments, not only of African commodities, but a great variety of those of Europe, brought hither by the caravans: amongst these are looking-glasses, buttons, needles, Nuremberg toys, hardware, with many others, which are mostly sold for gold, either in coin or bullion.

The palace is situated on the west side, and is surrounded by a wall, that of the town forming one part of it. All the walls are built of a mixture of rough-hewn stones and flints; the materials of the houses, some of which are two stories high, are nothing more than wood, with straw and leaves plaistered over with mortar. There are about three hundred of these houses: the number of huts amounts to a thousand. The town consists of two distinct parts; that which contains the houses, standing in a direction from east to south, is called *Konko-horroh-yamgala* (the free town of the hill;) this is inhabited by merchants, priests, and persons of eminence. The other division, running from west to north, is named *Hiny-dako-kouko*, (black-land hill.) It has this denomination probably, because the huts of which it is composed, and which are mostly inhabited by Arabs and Moors, stand upon a black and sterile soil. There are fourscore public temples;

* M. Park is inaccurate in having placed this town only two days journey from the Niger, whereas it is above three: this mistake probably originated from his relying on the statement of some ignorant persons.

temples; and besides these several private ones, belonging to the houses of the people of superior rank. But that which struck me as a novelty, of which I had not for a long time seen any thing similar, was eight fine public wells of a very superior construction; they were handsomely lined round with neatly arranged lint stones, and each had a winding flight of steps leading down to the water. They are not supplied by springs, but are filled by the showers which fall during the rainy season; and when the waters thus obtained are exhausted, they are replenished for the remainder of the year through sluices from the Niger. They are enclosed and placed under the superintendence of one or more of the respectable inhabitants, who keep others of inferior rank for the purpose of opening and shutting the wells. They are shut up every night, nor ever opened during the night-time, except upon the occasion of the arrival of caravans, when a supply of water is wanted either for the men or horses belonging to them.

In cases of fire they use sand, not water, for extinguishing the flames; another precaution also to prevent their spreading is the houses being built detached from each other. The king spends but four months of the year here; the rest of it he passes at Sille, and some others of the towns in their turns, or at his country-houses; perhaps a part of it in camp. Agriculture is a good deal practised by the Arabs, and the soil, though sandy, is fruitful in vegetable productions when well manured, which it is partly by inundations, and partly by labour. What grows best here are lemons, gourds, barley, and Turkish corn: there are also dates, tamarinds, and plums, but in no great abundance. Fruit-trees do not thrive well, probably owing to the excessive moisture both of the ground and the atmosphere during the rains in this season, so that few are planted; besides this, what fruits there are generally become the prey of thieves. There are artificers and manufacturers of various kinds

kinds in the town; as smiths, potters, linen-weavers, carpenters, and masons, with others.

On my leaving the town, as I have already mentioned on the 7th of April, the *yonhaty* appointed two Moors to attend me as an escort, and I had a supply of provisions for a couple of days. We proceeded directly to Nahga, to try if we could find a vessel which was to sail soon for Metatah. We waited till noon, and then were so fortunate as to be taken on board a small one, together with two travelling merchants on their way to Tambakto. We sailed against the current, but notwithstanding, arrived that same night at Metatah. Between the latter place and Prasiel the Niger is increased by the influx of the Agatra (Grey) river, which flows thither from the north. At the place where we landed the Niger is as broad as the Rhine at Cologne. My attendants left me here to return home by land, whilst I proceeded with the merchants. At Metatah and Prasiel are good caravanferas for the reception of the merchants belonging to the caravans, and the boatmen who convey them; there are also warehouses for depositing the goods thus brought, when the owners pass the night here, getting them on board again in the morning. For guarding the freight of each vessel the master pays sixty zimpos a night whilst he stays, and for this he is ensured that nothing shall be lost. They are obliged thus to take their goods on shore during the night, because of the petty pirates which infest the Niger for the purpose of pilfering from these vessels; they are even so audacious as to attack and plunder them at times when there are but few boatmen on board. When the cargoes are of considerable value the owners will sometimes admit passengers on board gratis, that they may assist in the defence of the vessels if attacked by these robbers.

We proceeded in like manner by water from Prasiel to Sille, where we landed on the morning of the 11th of April. We were immediately taken under the charge of four Moors, by whom we were carried before the *yonhaty*. Here we underwent an examination, and my

My fellow passengers for thirty zimpos each procured asses and proceeded on their journey. When it came my turn to give an account of myself, I said I was a gun-smith, and had come recommended to the merchant Mota. Upon this two of the Moors were ordered to conduct me to his house. As soon as I produced my roll of linen which I had got to ensure me a good reception, the merchant turning to the Moors, said, "I will keep the stranger with me, who comes recommended by my brother, and will speak to the *yonhaty* myself on the subject." He then paid the Moors forty zimpos, their demand for having brought me thither. He afterwards shewed me a hut at the back part of his house as a lodging, and invited me to live with him as long as I should continue here; adding, that he would promote my interest to the utmost of his power. I mentioned my wish of travelling homeward with a caravan, and he promised to assist me in procuring an opportunity. I repaired and cleaned his fire-arms; and he was so well pleased with my performance that he recommended me to others; but there was little work of that kind, as the travelling gun-makers had been here only a short time before. That I might not however be idle, I made for my kind host some pieces of furniture, such as chests, a table, &c. Wherever my friend went he made me accompany him, by which means I acquired a great number of acquaintances, particularly amongst the merchants.

On the 1st of May a caravan, consisting of ninety men, with forty camels richly laden, arrived from Nubia, on its way to Tunis. My good friend applied to the *mausotuso* (commander), with a request that he would take me with him, and provide me with comfortable accommodations on the road. This man came to me himself the same day to fix on the terms: he asked me what I would be willing to give for the journey; not being accustomed to transactions of this nature, I desired him to mention what he would have; after considering for a short time, he told me he would not require any payment; but that I must go well armed,

armed, that I might assist in the defence of the caravan should it be attacked. I promised to do so; yet I was at a loss how to procure all that was necessary for that purpose: I must have a gun, with powder, balls, and a sword; and all these articles were here sold at most extravagant prices. My host observing my perplexity, relieved me from a part of my distress, by asking me what store of money I had; and said, he would take upon himself the care of getting me the provisions and arms I should want. I produced all the zimpos I had in my possession, but said nothing of my Dutch guilders. On reckoning the treasure I had delivered him, he told me these would not be nearly sufficient to furnish me with what I should want. This plunged me into new anxiety, which he once more kindly removed, by bringing me a gun and a sabre; these he said he would lend me, looking upon me to be an honest man; and that I might return them to him at some future period, when I should come again to repair the arms in this place. For three hundred zimpos, which was one half of the amount of my riches in that currency, he procured for me the requisite stores of meal, dried flesh, powder, and ball; and at parting gave me a number of good rules for my conduct in this journey.

The town of Sille (or Silla, as it is sometimes called) is under the government of the king of Feene, and, next to his capital, his principal place of residence. It stands on the banks of the Niger; and though of greater extent than Feene, it is not equal to that in the construction or disposition of its buildings. There are two great streets, crossed by a lesser one; the rest is an intermixture of houses and huts, scattered about in the utmost irregularity. A canal communicating with the Niger is carried through the cross street, and supplies the town with water. Stone for building must be brought here from a great distance, for which reason there are not more than a hundred houses formed of that material; but there is such a multiplicity of huts that I cannot take upon me to ascertain their number. They are composed entirely of the

the wood and leaves of the palm-tree. There are a hundred temples and mosques, which are also formed of palm-branches woven, and covered with the leaves. My friendly host was very strict in the observances of devotion himself, and in his attendance at the mosques; but he never required me to accompany him, nor questioned me in matters of religion. The mosque belonging to the palace is built mostly of brick, brought, at an immense expense, by the caravans from the western coast: it is calculated that each brick cost not much less than a dollar. The castle is a strongly constructed building, composed of flint-stones and fragments of rocks: it is fenced by a wall on the north and west sides. It is very spacious, and garrisoned by three hundred Moorish horse, with an equal number of native infantry. The commerce carried on here is very considerable; and there are several linen and cotton manufactories. Each person exposing goods for sale must pay a duty of ten per cent. on them. The market-place is of great extent, yet it is so crowded on market-days that it is very difficult to pass through it. The inhabitants are a mixture of natives, Moors, Arabs, and Jews; the latter class are looked upon in the light of slaves to the Arabs, for whom they perform offices of the most servile and laborious nature. Almost every Arab keeps twenty negro slaves, as domestic attendants and labourers in the field. These slaves are treated with much more humanity by those Mahometans, whom we are so ready to decry, than those in the colonies are by Christians. Though seldom reduced to a state of absolute slavery, yet Christians here are held in contempt and treated with oppression.

I left this town early on the 3d of May, with the caravan; proceeding northward, and at a very slow pace, the weather being intensely hot, and the camels heavily laden. We had an excellent road, yet we travelled but five German miles to the village of Muta, and afterwards about a league across a mountain, when we came to a hamlet called Saatata, where we halted for the night. On the 4th our road lay over a sandy

sandy plain, on which we passed by three villages and stopped for the night in a khan near the Sanohe (gold) mountains. Here we had a supper of goat's flesh, which was very good, and for which we paid ten zimpos each.

On the 5th we laboured with much difficulty up the gold-mountains, which at this part are bare and rugged, offering nothing to the view but rocks and sand. I was informed that gold had been formerly dug from the mines in these mountains; but that the king of Bahahara, after his losing the towns of Feene and Sille, had suffered the works to fall into decay. For three entire days did we pursue our course amongst these mountains, climbing their steep sides and making our way down their declivities by turns. On the second of those days we came to a spot where we discovered an inclosed well, which had been sunk for the purpose of letting off the waters from the pits at the mines. On our arrival at it we found two-and-twenty Arabs watering their goats: had we not possessed a superiority in numbers we should undoubtedly have been attacked and plundered by them. We here unloaded our camels, and forming them into a circle, placed ourselves with the goods in the midst: besides this precaution we were obliged to station some of our men as guards at different places, to the distance of sixty paces all round, to prevent any sudden surprize from robbers.

On the 7th, about noon, we reached some huts inhabited by Arabs belonging to the kingdom of Nytokka*. Here we staid a day to rest, and procured food for the cattle in exchange for some of our own provisions.

May the 9th we entered the Gatta-vahara (lion-desert)

* I cannot ascertain whether this be the same kingdom marked in maps by the denomination of Guber. It is governed by a king miserably poor, who subsists by the exchange of slaves and skins for provisions, with his neighbours. His country is a desert wilderness possibly ten or twelve German miles in length, and not more than four in breadth.

rt) which is in length six days journey, in breadth not quite two. Here we met with the Doratah (poor-ke) which obtained its name, in all likelihood, from being generally totally without water, except in the rainy season, and the water then not fit for any purpose.

Whilst eating our noon repast in this place, some of our companions on searching the sands, where probably no water had been for the last six months, found several very large muscles, these we roasted on our fire, and feasted on them as a second course. Resuming our route, we came next to some caverns in the mountain, inhabited by a tribe called Siegmarton, who live in perfect harmony with each other, though without laws or government, having neither king nor chief. They are also excellent soldiers; and when a war breaks out between any of the neighbouring nations, those amongst them fit to carry arms enter into the service of whoever will afford them the best pay and maintenance, and always give proofs of the most intrepidity and valour. If well rewarded for it they will attend caravans for days on their journey, and protect them from injury, though at other times they will themselves set upon and plunder them both of goods and cattle. From hence we passed a sandy desert, six days journey in length, where for miles around scarcely any thing is to be seen but an arid waste, or sand-hills rising like rocky steepes. There have been frequent instances of whole caravans being buried beneath these sands, when a north or west wind has raised and driven them with overwhelming violence. Yet even in these regions of desolation huts inhabited by Arabs are to be seen scattered amongst the sandy heights; they are wretchedly poor, as may be well imagined. We spent the 13th as a day of rest amongst a horde of these people, which in the whole might amount to about two hundred persons. They behaved to us with the most good-natured and assiduous attention, seeming to watch our looks to know what we wished to have. Some of them went to the distance of three leagues for fuel

fuel to dress a goat which we had killed here; and, in short, were unremitting in their kind offices. As a return, we made up the sum of a hundred zimpos and gave them, leaving them also the remains of the goat, and some other flesh.

On the evening of the 14th we again set forward, taking with us twenty of these men as a guard, or rather as scouts, to examine the country round, and keep a look-out on every side of the caravan, lest we should be attacked unawares. Generally at the intervals of each days journey through these deserts wells are sunk; but it now being the sultry season of the year no water remained in them, nor did we any longer find huts in our way: we still saw roaming parties of Arabs and Moors at a distance; but, intimidated by our numbers, and perceiving we were well armed, they did not venture to approach us.

On the 19th we again came to habitations, where dwelt a horde of Mahoyadians. This is a warlike nation, athletic in their persons, and possess a tract in this desert fifty German miles in length. They turn to the best account some fertile spots which here and there appear amongst those sterile sands, by raising gourds and millet: they also possess goats, which they procure by barter from some of the neighbouring nations. They may be esteemed the most uncorrupted of all the inhabitants of the desert; they will not even hold any intercourse with the Moors, but live at constant variance with them. We had no sooner arrived amongst them than several of them ran with alertness to assist us in unloading the camels, brought food for them, and supplied ourselves with milk, water, and whatever else they could produce towards our refreshment. It was a lucky circumstance for me that I had been amply supplied with provisions for my journey, as in the desert they are not to be procured; the inhabitants even here having but a scanty supply for themselves; being often reduced to the necessity of subsisting on unwholesome roots, and even sometimes the soft barks of trees.

Early

Early in the evening we again set out, proceeding in a north-east direction; and next morning arrived at a village, in which were upwards of five hundred inhabitants. This belonged to the Mahoyadians, and was the residence of their chief, to whom we were obliged to pay a toll of ten zimpos each man. Pursuing our way from hence, in the afternoon we came again to some huge sand-hills; and, whilst winding amongst them, were attacked by a band of Carootians*; whom, however, we drove off, without having sustained any damage from them. In the evening we stopped near the brink of a well; where, having caught three young antelopes, we regaled on them for our supper.

The night turned out awfully terrific. A storm of thunder and lightning came on, whilst tempestuous winds raised the sands in such drifts as threatened every moment to overwhelm us with destruction; and here we should undoubtedly have found our graves had not the elements soon abated of their fury: but, to our unfeigned joy, the wind veered about to the south and became less violent, in a much shorter time, as some of my companions informed me, than they had known on former occasions. On preparing to set out in the morning, we found the wind, which still continued rather boisterous, blew directly from that point to which we were directing our course; it was therefore determined we should take a circuitous route, which we did; and came in the evening to the river Zooko, which was now nearly dried up. We stopped for the night in a village on its banks, called Vogha, where we also passed the whole of the next day and the following night, as an interval of rest. The district in which

* These people possess a small tract of land on the north-west side of the desert, not exceeding twenty, or at most four-and-twenty square roods in extent. I am not certain whether they may not be part of the same nation, who are marked in the maps in the very same district where they dwell, under the name of Zuenzigans. My fellow-travellers belonging to the caravan called them Carootians, and described them as an independent tribe, living even without a ruler or chief.

which this village is situated is about two days journey in length and one in breadth; and inhabited by a nation few in number, called Tahlates. They practise agriculture, and live free and contented amongst themselves, avoiding all intercourse both with Moors and Arabs. They are copper-coloured, have rough heads, are short and thick, and go entirely naked. They are kind and hospitable to an uncommon degree, as they resigned their huts to us, and slept themselves in the open air. The tract of land which they possess is rather fertile, as it is enriched in the rainy season by the overflowing of the river, which I have already mentioned as running through it.

On the 23d we left the village and passed the river, which here forms a sort of curve. We had found some muscles and tortoises, which proved a great regale; and we had this day fine travelling weather, the sun rather obscured by clouds, and the air of course cooler. On the 24th, as we ascended a mountain, we encountered a troop of Moors, who, however, did not attempt to attack us; they only, as is usual with many of the wandering hordes here, asked us for a present, which we let them have. In the evening we came to an Arab horde, with whom we took up our lodging for the night.

From the 25th to the 30th we again travelled over a sandy desert, through which, however, were scattered some craggy cliffs. We had come to two wells, both of which were dry, and were now reduced to the most deplorable situation for want of water; suffering, for three successive days, beneath a burning sun all the tortures of the most intolerable thirst. We were in hopes we should have come to another turning of the river which we had lately crossed, but in this too we were disappointed. Exhausted and parched by thirst, we, on the evening of the 1st of June, arrived at a cluster of huts, sixty-four in number, belonging to the kingdom of Watometh*. The commander of the

* According to the account given me by fellow-travellers this people, at a former period, dwelt in Barbary, as subjects to a king

the caravan asked some of the inhabitants whom he saw on our arrival, whether the caravan might rest in safety here, or if he could obtain any food for the cattle belonging to it. On hearing this the chief advanced, and demanded whether he was to have a present. He was told, that both he and his people should be satisfied for their trouble, as we did not, by any means, intend to be a burthen to them. He then ordered some of those present to assist in unloading the beasts, and to bring food and water for them: he was instantly obeyed, and every thing was executed with the most exact regularity: the most valuable bales of merchandise were put into huts, where they would be in perfect security; and very commodious ones adjoining them were assigned to us. After having seen our cattle taken care of, we next thought of satisfying the calls of our own appetites, and above all to quench our thirst; for this we were obliged to be content with some bad water, and for food to have recourse to the stores we had brought with us; all except our commander, who alone was supplied with milk and meal by the inhabitants. Next day twenty of our best marksmen went out to cater for us, and brought back some ostriches and a wolf which they had shot: these we had dressed, and feasted on them.

We spent this day, which we had allotted for one of rest, in a very pleasant manner, and in the most perfect friendship with our hosts. At noon we ranged ourselves in a line in front of the huts, that the chief might take account of our number, in order to his payment. Our captain then took out the bag in which our money was kept, and gave the chief ten zimpo for each of us, to be distributed amongst his people, and three more for himself exclusively. When this distribution

ing called Athgohmedi. But they refusing to pay a tribute which he had unjustly imposed on Tripoli, he afterwards cruelly oppressed and harassed them; causing them even to be massacred by foreign troops which he had taken into his pay. They at length fled from his tyranny, and found an asylum in the kingdom of Valometh; where they formed a free state.

bution was made, the inhabitants were so highly delighted that they kindled a fire, round which they danced with joy. Our commander now laid himself down to take a little repose; but he first stationed four of his men to watch the baggage; requesting that we would all be in readiness to rise in our common defence at the very first onset, in case we were attacked: nothing, however, occurred to molest us.

On the 3d, as soon as day appeared, we moved onwards; but the morning proved unfavourable, and we had not proceeded many hundred paces when it began to rain, whilst the wind arose, and blew with tempestuous violence. We halted for half an hour, but perceiving no appearance of the storm abating, we turned back to the village, at which the inhabitants testified the most unfeigned pleasure. We continued here till the 5th; when the wind having subsided, though some rain still fell, we again pursued our route, which lay over a chain of mountains stretching towards the west. We soon afterwards came to an arm of the river Sampi, across which we were obliged to swim at the imminent peril of our lives; so much had it been swoln by the rains. We passed the night beneath the shelter of some trees; and in the morning again proceeded on our way, travelling over a sandy waste with here and there some rising grounds, till we reached the boundary of the kingdom of Tomobata (Targa). Here we received instructions from our leader to keep constantly on our guard, as we were now come amongst a fierce and savage nation. We had not gone above a league further when a troop of Moors rushed towards us, rudely demanding a present. Our commander answered, that he was willing to give the accustomed toll; but that it must be at a village, and to the chief there. Exasperated at this refusal, they instantly fired, and killed two of our men with the camel they were leading, and seemed preparing to advance still closer. We now fired in our turns, by which some of them fell; but still the rest kept their ground. Three times we repeated the general discharge

charge of our fire-arms, and brought down many of their numbers, yet they neither submitted nor fled; and we were consulting what further steps we should pursue, when a band of Arabs, part of a horde, who dwelt beyond a hill at no great distance from us, came running across the plain towards us; at sight of whom the Moors immediately took to flight. These assailants differed very much in appearance from their brethren whom I had seen in any of the kingdoms through which I had passed, being entirely clothed in rags.

We now buried the bodies of our slain friends in the sand; and cutting up the camel which had been shot, we stowed it, as well as the bales it had carried, on the backs of the other beasts, and proceeded to the village from whence our Arab deliverers had just come. These people told us, that it was not with the intention of assisting us that they had come out; but on hearing a firing, they concluded that a caravan belonging to their own nation, which was at this time expected with salt, had been attacked, and they hastened to its rescue. Here we roasted the flesh of the slaughtered camel, which we shared with our hosts, who on their parts supplied us with some milk and meal.

What could scarcely have been expected, we found the country round this village extremely fertile, producing dates and plums in great profusion; at the same time abounding in both quadrupeds and fowl: and were any degree of industry and activity used amongst the inhabitants it might be still more productive. I saw here many of the *flagy*, or *falgy* (a species of eagle) some of them of a prodigious size. On making enquiries concerning the nature of government amongst this nation, I learned that they had a king who resided in a village about a day's journey from this, having a tract of territory on which many other villages were situated under his dominion. The inhabitants of that where we now were, are not under his immediate jurisdiction, but pay him an annual tribute, and are governed by their own emir. I had a curiosity to see this person, and was accordingly introduced to him.

He was a very old man, and seemed possessed of a great deal of benevolence. On hearing we had been attacked by the Moors, he collected the horde, and sent out a detachment to meet and protect the caravan which was expected with salt. Our direct road from hence would have been to the north-east; but perceiving a huge mountain of sand before us in that direction, which we suspected might be the haunt of robbers, we decided on going by the north-west as our safest course.

On the 8th therefore we set off in that line, traversing the beautiful plain in which the village we had just left stands, and soon reached a part of it where were about three hundred huts scattered here and there on either hand: at these, however, we did not stop, but continued our journey till towards evening, when we arrived amongst another Arab horde. Here we rested but a few hours, for the moon shining remarkably bright, we took advantage of its light to pursue our way. A number of lions followed us, and from time to time seemed as if meditating an attack upon us; we escaped this danger, however, and they left us as soon as the sun arose. About noon, on the 9th, our leader pointed out to me a mountain at some distance, saying, "There is the frontier mountain of thy country, which thou wilt enter to-morrow." This at first surprised me; but I soon recollected my having given myself out as a gun-maker from Biledulgerid. I was now much perplexed as to the manner I should conduct myself when we were actually arrived in that country. In appearance, I might very well have passed for an African, as my hair had acquired a crispness of curl, my beard was long, and the sun, with the dirt and perspiration, had embrowned my complexion; in short, I could scarcely have been taken for a Christian, an appellation which would have been very inimical to my safety in travelling through these countries: but then my deficiency in the language was an unfortunate circumstance, as by that means my companions must detect me as an impostor immediately on our coming

to Biledulgerid. To avoid this, therefore, I formed the resolution of quitting the caravan as soon as I could under some feasible pretext; and performing the rest of my journey alone, unless I could fall in with some other caravan by the way. In the mean time I made enquiries of the different camel-drivers of our company, as to the manners and dispositions of the surrounding nations; but in this point I could come at no certainty; some representing them as friendly and humane; whilst others on the contrary described them as ferocious plunderers.

We halted for the night in a wood, where we were visited by Arabs and some of the Zuenzigans, who dwell towards the west: they sold us milk and melons on very reasonable terms; behaving with much good-nature and cordiality towards us. The account I received from my fellow-travellers relative to these Zuenzigans, was, that they were a poor, but a hospitable and well-disposed people; that they had no fixed place of residence, but in general kept in this western district. I addressed myself to one of the men of this nation, to know whether I should be well received if I went amongst them for the purpose of repairing their arms. He made me no answer, and I found did not understand what I said to him; for he pointed to the commander of our caravan, intimating that I should explain myself through him. During the night I again altered my plan, and on the 11th proceeded onwards with my companions. After a further progress of six hours, we reached the frontier mountains, consisting of a double range extending in a semi-circular direction from north-east to west in shape of a sickle, and forming a barrier to that part of the country.

CHAP. XIV.

Description of the numerous different inhabitants of the desert of Sahara.—The caravan arrives at the frontier village Miathhy.—Mango Park's exaggerated praises of the inhabitants of the borders noticed.—Some account of the inhabitants of the country of Biledulgerid, its commerce.—The Mussulmans, their customs, manners, national character, and religion.—The caravans arrive successively at the village of Nayhakoth, the hamlet Hatynay, and the little town of Eussach, where the author is attacked with a fever, and obliged to be left behind by the caravan.—He lodges as a patient in the next village with a Jew, who undertakes and completes his cure.—The author then continues his route on horseback, with a party of Moors, through the territory of the prince Akumba Mahomet, to Tergorarin (This territory not mentioned in the maps).—At Tergorarin, the Moors sell the author to a slave-dealer, who obliges him to work for him as a joiner; and afterwards, on the 20th of February, 1790, conveys him, with four young female slaves, to Omozab, where he sells him to a Mussulman.—Particulars of the journey, and description of the little town of Omozab.—Journey to Mezzebath, and description of that town.—The author is bartered to a native of this place, who keeps him four months, and then disposes of him to a trader of Morocco, with whose caravan he proceeds to Morocco.

HAVING thus passed over the desert of Sahara, and being now arrived at its confines, it may not be amiss before I take leave of it, to say something of the characters, customs, and manners of its various inhabitants. The desert of Sahara, then, is the residence of a number of distinct nations, differing essentially from each other in language, usages, and modes of life. The principal of these are, 1. The Moors, who are scattered here and there over it; from Suez, Fez, and Morocco, as far as the river Niger; and who

who possess besides, a tract of country extending beyond the desert, on the south side from Biledulgerid. Those of this nation who dwell beyond the Niger, are not held in any estimation by the Moorish inhabitants of the desert, from which they have either been expelled, or have deserted. These people have a chief belonging to each horde, elected by themselves, generally from amongst their oldest men: in some parts these rulers are stiled emirs. They are constantly roaming about in troops, armed with muskets and sabres; not deeming it any crime to attack and plunder travellers. Murder, however, is amongst them punished with death, whether perpetrated on natives or strangers. 2. The Arabs, who are also very numerous, and live at constant enmity with the Moors. These people are too well known to render any particular account of them here necessary. 3. The Mogramians, a strong, but a kind and well-disposed people, who practise both commerce and agriculture, and have amongst them artisans in different branches. 4. The Trasarts, a weak and simple nation, who traffic with the Europeans; these latter treat them with much consideration, as they find it easy to over-reach, and to live on peaceable terms with them. 5. The Braknards, who possess a tolerable degree of strength, and likewise carry on a commerce with the French, English, and Spaniards; to whom they convey great numbers of slaves, either stolen or purchased by them from other nations: and 6. The Jews, who live dispersed all over the country, and are either engaged in traffic, or perform the offices of slaves for the other inhabitants. In addition to those I have enumerated, there are about twenty inferior nations of little or no importance.

The districts in the neighbourhood of the Niger, where many of the lesser tribes inhabit, is fertile; that river like the Nile, enriching the adjacent grounds by its annual inundations: but to the north the soil is miserably barren, being chiefly deep sands, with only at distant intervals, like islands surrounded by those sands, some small spots which produce trees and her-

bage; and which the Arabs improve by cultivation and tillage. The nations of the desert prize liberty, which, however, they are not always able to preserve from a want of unanimity amongst themselves; in consequence, many of them are governed by kings with despotic sway. The Arabs alone, resist any attempt to deprive them of their freedom, which they will defend with their blood and lives. They have emirs, it is true, as rulers; but these they elect themselves from amongst their elders; nor dare they undertake any thing of importance without the consent of the whole tribe, to be obtained through their other elders. The Moors are an indolent race, and neither practise husbandry nor breed cattle, subsisting by rapine; or if that resource fail, enter into the service of some of the neighbouring powers. As to religion, that of the Arabs is mahometanism; but it cannot be so easily pronounced what are the creeds and professions of the Moors and other nations; their tenets and ceremonies being a mixture of the mahometan, jewish, and pagan modes of worship; each individual is superstitious and credulous in the extreme; and they are ever the dupes of priests equally ignorant and designing: they are, at the same time, unfixed and wavering in their religious opinions, adopting and laying them down with like facility. Circumcision is almost universally practised, and only performed at the full of the moon. Friday is their sabbath; but markets being held in most of the towns on that day, they adopt the jewish custom of beginning it on Friday evening. Those who value their characters for sanctity, never handle money, drive bargains, or transact any kind of business on a Saturday. The priests are poor, not being allowed by their laws to possess property, either in herds or lands: they depend upon their congregations for subsistence; but this is so poorly supplied, that they are obliged to travel about like the medics in Roman Catholic countries, begging for alms or teaching children for a livelihood: they also profess prophesying or telling of fortunes, and interpreting prognostics. Neither the priests as masters, nor the parents themselves, are allowed

allowed to beat a child; this office is always restricted to the hoary head or eldest of each family; it being a generally received axiom amongst them, that whoever corrects a child, forfeits its affection. But if, as is often the case, the ancient dispensers of discipline, enfeebled by age and infirmities, should prefer staying quietly in their huts, to the exertion of looking after children, the perverse and evil dispositions of the latter, often acquire such a degree of strength as never afterwards to be controlled. Theft is the only exception to this general rule; that, every person is at liberty to punish; yet it is a popular belief amongst them, that this crime does not proceed from any bad propensity in the child, but from the instigation of an evil spirit.

The children of the Moors are generally instructed in the art of writing by the priests, who give them copies of letters and words, and afterwards sentences, chiefly selected from the koran, upon slates; paper being very scarce here, and when to be met with very dear.

In those nations not governed by kings, the eldest men of families or of villages pass judgment in all petty controversies: in important or criminal cases the aged men of several villages are convened, and must concur in the decision. Even were kings to bear rule, the hoary headed man is looked up to with reverence; and when sentence of death is passed by the king, their pleadings for mitigation are attended to; and, not unfrequently, on their opinion depends the final doom.

The rites of hospitality are much less generally practised in this great desert than amongst many of the neighbouring nations. If a traveller have money he must pay for his accommodations: the poor and plundered stranger alone receives shelter and sustenance without a reward being demanded. It is usual in villages to have two detached huts, situated near that of the oldest man, or judge, kept in constant repair by the community; the one for the traveller, the other for his horse or other beast of burthen if he have any. Each inhabitant also delivers in to the judge at stated times, certain quantities of meal, milk, flesh, millet, or

other necessary articles, as a stock from which to supply the wants of the traveller. The owners of the first hut to which a stranger applies for hospitality, gives him milk, or if that is wanting, a drink of water, and then conducts him to the judge, who must entertain him four-and-twenty hours. Yet, alas! travellers without money meet in general with very harsh treatment; and if permitted to rest at all in the village, are perhaps driven out of it in a few hours, and conducted to the next, or nearest horde by persons appointed for that purpose. He who is observed to have money, is given to understand on his arrival, that a present is expected by the judge; sometimes the whole community assert their claims to the same perquisite; if he comply with these demands, it ensures him a good night's lodging, the best fare that can be procured, and he is dismissed in peace and friendship. One thing is worthy of remark in these uncivilized regions, that a man runs no risque in trusting whatever property he may have about him, in the hand of his host; it is securely kept, and restored undiminished, even though he may not have made the required present.

The men bring home provisions for their families, which they either purchase, steal, or procure in whatever manner they best can; it is the business of the women to prepare their meals, and, if they have no female slaves, to milk the cows, fodder, and drive them to pasture. The time for their principal daily meal is in the evening, because then all the men of the household are at home. Those who labour in the fields, begin at sun-rise, and end when it sets. The men not thus employed, go every day that the weather will permit, either to the chase, or to pillage; or such as have trades, work at them; there are potters, smiths, linen and silk-weavers amongst them. Their dress is a cloak made of wretched bad materials; these, according to the wealth and respectability of the wearer, are made long or short, and edged with a broad or narrow border; they wear turbans on their heads, and on their feet bindings of leather crossed over their insteps; the wo-

men

men very often curl their hair. The two sexes are kept very much apart; men never taking their wives to any public meetings, even at the solemnization of festivals or occasional amusements of dancing; the married women are never permitted to appear till after sun-set; young girls being the only females admitted to these festivities in the day time. Every where amongst these nations, the married women are treated as slaves; not being allowed to eat with their husbands; and only partaking what they and their children leave, with the menial slaves, to whom they must give a portion of what they thus receive. A man may have as many wives as he thinks fit, but a woman unfaithful to one husband is punished with death. Divorces are only allowed when a woman brings no children, and in that case she has the right of taking back with her whatever she had contributed towards the furnishing of the hut; and she may marry another man. The sons inherit the property of their father: the daughters that of their mother. If a man leave no sons at his death, his inheritance goes to his next male relation; to the next female on the woman's side, in case of failure of daughters. If both parents die, leaving an infant family, they, with the inheritance, are placed under the care of the next of kin; if they have no relations, the trust devolves on the judge of the place.

Goats and sheep form the principal part of their wealth; of these some proprietors possess two, some even three hundred. Except on festivals, none of these are ever killed for use; as on circumcision days, marriages, or the celebration of a victory. When any of these animals die a natural death, these people do not scruple to eat their flesh. After the harvest is gathered in, its produce is deposited in magazines which are constructed under ground; where it is first covered with palm leaves, and over that with earth. In several places these are for public use, and placed under the superintendence of the judge, who has the charge of delivering out the provisions. Only those who have contributed to this common stock have any claim on it, such

persons and children excepted. What remains over the year is sold, and the money divided in due proportion to each of the proprietors. A lying-in woman must confine herself four entire weeks to a detached hut, every family having one for that purpose; during this time she must neither appear abroad nor receive visits; a female friend or slave attending on her there. When that period is expired, she is conducted by her friends into a bath, and a feast is then given in her honour. They most commonly inter their dead on the tops of hills, and many ceremonies are used upon these occasions. The priest of the village, with the relations of the deceased, walking before the body, and the rest of the inhabitants following in procession. As soon as the corpse is committed to the earth, all present raise a very loud howl, to fright away evil spirits, that the repose of the deceased may not be disturbed by them. Before the earth has been thrown into the grave over the body, a fire is kindled by the relations, when the priest, with divers ceremonials, gives round to each a piece of a certain root, which they fling into the fire, and when consumed gather the ashes, and strew them over the face of the deceased, kept uncovered for the purpose; and the whole is concluded by filling up, and raising a mound of earth over the grave. These ceremonials are a little varied amongst some nations; but the principal parts are pretty much the same in all.

In some of the towns are public eating houses, where persons may dine for ten zimpo each. The first who comes lays down his money before he receives his fare, and is then served with a certain quantity of the victuals in a dish, and a spoon with which to eat it. The next customer making his deposit in like manner, has some of the same food given him in the same dish, and to be eaten with the same spoon; and so on in succession, as long as the viands last; neither dish nor spoon being ever cleansed during the whole of the time.

When we had crossed that range of mountains which I mentioned in my last chapter, we perceived two others; one stretching from the north-east towards the south;

south; the other from north to west. Our progress was obstructed by many difficulties, and our road miserably bad; at some times being obliged to clamber up steep and rugged rocks, or to descend them with equal toil and peril; at others to make a circuit that we might avoid some frightful chasm. On the 13th we passed through a valley in most places under water, through which we often waded up to our knees. On the higher grounds there was fine grass, on which we at times allowed our cattle to feed; and in some parts there were palm-trees. At noon that same day we reached the first frontier town, which is called Mathhy; it contains a hundred huts, and about twenty wretched looking houses; the former inhabited by Arabs, the latter by Moors. Here is the actual termination of the desert of Sahara; and now we came in view of vast forests, the haunts of innumerable wild beasts, and swarming with serpents. The borderers here differ very little in customs and manners from the Moors and Arabs of the desert: but they seem to be totally void of any ideas of religion. Some travellers bestow exaggerated praises on these people, describing them as mild and humane; Mr. Mungo Park in particular, mentions them in terms of very undeserved panyric.

The natives of Biledulgerid who reside on the borders are free and independent; whilst those further into the country are in fact slaves to despotic rulers, whom they must serve with life and limb. These latter are a weak and stupid race of beings, who yield themselves up victims to the will of their chiefs, with no other reward than the barren praise of bearing their indigence, their misery and oppression, with meekness and resignation. Some geographers in their accounts mention this as a fertile region, but I can affirm the direct contrary to be the case. To the east and south, nothing meets the eye but desert wastes, and enormous chains of craggy steeps, whilst to the west, it is presented with the still more tiresome unvarying scene of sandy mountains and sterile plains in alternate succession. It is only

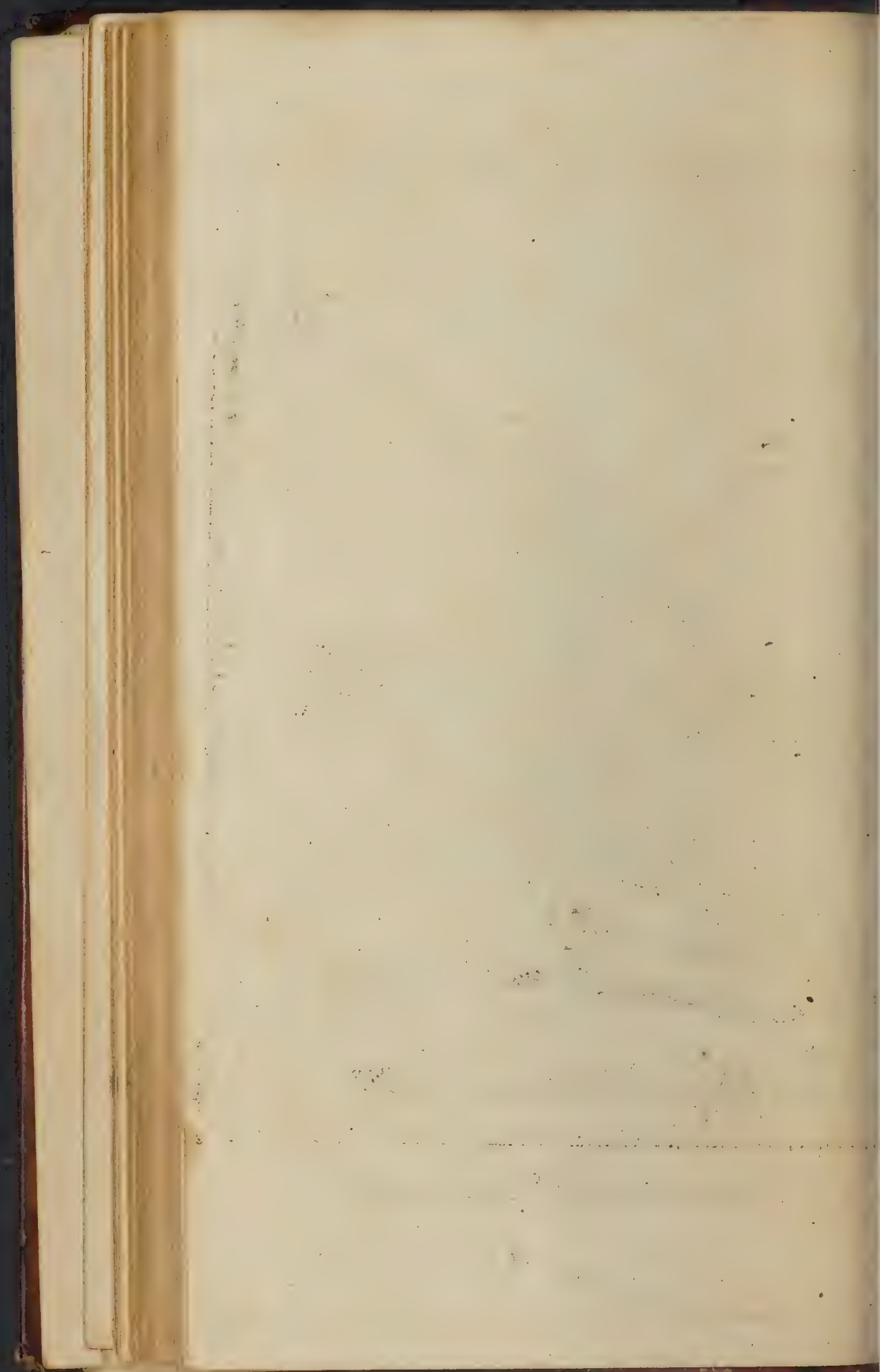
only at distant intervals that spots are to be found exhibiting any appearance of fertility, or where the patient culture of the inhabitants can produce any effect. In the forests which bound the northern view, indeed, are some date, palm, tamarind, and wax trees; but a part of these belong properly to Tripoli, and the produce of the rest can afford but a very poor supply of fruits to the inhabitants. Wild animals are abundantly numerous; but in a very few places are any tame ones to be seen.

In the most fruitful districts, as soon as the harvest is over, those products which had remained from the foregoing year are sold or bartered; and the following is the mode used to bring purchasers. The overplus stock is carried to the top of a mountain, where a fire being kindled, a long pole is stuck in the ground, on the upper end of which a piece of cloth is suspended, in the same manner as a flag-staff. On seeing this, the inhabitants of those villages where fruits are scarce, come to the sale of which they have received notice, and procure by purchase or barter, a supply of those fruits which their own soil does not afford them; the chiefs who take care to be present, or to employ persons for that purpose, impose a tax both on what is sold by their own people, and on those articles which are given in exchange. Both parties being satisfied with their bargains, the business is at an end. Furs, hides, ostrich feathers, and camels hair are brought from all the country round to the great towns, and there exposed to sale. Temporary tents and booths are here, as in Europe, erected in the market-places. In the former are sold fruits, dye-stuffs, corn, &c. in the latter furs are hung on poles; ostrich feathers, ivory, and other articles are also laid out in them.

The population of the Mussulmans, as all the native inhabitants of the country are called, is not numerous; it would seem indeed, as if the sterility of those regions extended even to the human race; scarce any families ever having more than two children. In time of war, all the males able to bear arms are obliged to take the
field,



A MOOR of the DESERT of SAHARA.



old, the Moors and Arabs excepted, who only furnish a stipulated number of troops each: the former enjoy this exemption, because even in times of peace the majority of them are generally under arms, and active in defending the country against plundering bands; the latter, because they are as necessarily employed in providing supplies for the troops engaged in action, by cultivating the ground and rearing cattle.

The mahometan is the established religion of the country; yet even paganism and idolatry are tolerated in it. Indeed there seems to be no great strictness, at least no bigotted attachment to their own religious opinions amongst them; every one may think and believe as he pleases, provided he does not profess himself a christian. Nor, from this same tolerant spirit, are they at all anxious to make proselytes. Their priests enjoy unrestrained liberty and distinguished privileges. Many of them commit crimes of ever so heinous a nature, neither the ruler nor the elders have the power to punish them: the cause must be determined by his brethren the other priests. Their maintenance is provided for by those congregations who have chosen them for their spiritual guides: it is customary for twenty or thirty families to join in the support of a priest and a mosque. Their duties consist in attending the mosque every day, at sun-rise and sun-set; to say prayers; and read a portion of the koran to their auditory: it is likewise their business to instruct the children, which they do twice a day in the open air; inculcating precepts from the koran, teaching them the art of writing, and giving lessons as to the common employments of life. They have a vacation during the months of June and July, no lessons being then given. They have generally two, three, or perhaps four wives each, who meet with peculiar respect and honour. The priests are likewise the practitioners in physic; but they never administer medicine during the violence of a disorder: it is their belief, and they proclaim it to be so, that it would be flying in the face of God and his prophet to attempt to avert what they have inflicted.

as a punishment: when convalescence has begun to take place, they then say, that God and his prophet have removed the punishment from the sick person and they may now assist in restoring strength to the enfeebled body. They profess also to have the gift of divination as to marriage contracts: when a young man wishes to enter into the wedded state, he consults a priest, who, after practising a great deal of mummer-y declares either that God and the great prophet are, or they are not, pleased with the projected alliance. Circumcision is practised here, with all the mahometan ceremonials; and the eldest person of the family must always be present at it. Children are taken from school generally about their tenth or twelfth year, in order to be prepared by their parents for that future line of life for which they are destined; the sons being taken under the direction of the father, the daughter under that of the mother, for this purpose. But if a young man have decided on assuming the priestly office, he is still continued under the tuition of the priest; who then receives him into his house, the father allowing for his maintenance.

The men divide their time between the chase and some industrious occupation: they practise a variety of handicrafts in clay, wood, stone, and iron; weave linens, silk, stuffs, &c. There are itinerant merchants amongst the foreign Moors, as well as the Jews. The women superintend the domestic concerns, and the business of husbandry, having female slaves under them: the care of feeding and looking after the cattle is the province of the men-slaves, for most families keep a number of slaves, who here go into voluntary servitude, because they are always treated with humanity. There is no part of their personal property that the men prize so much as they do their guns and sabres; constantly going armed with them, if they stir but fifty or a hundred paces from home; each inhabitant being allowed to carry these weapons even about the streets; except the Jews, who are prohibited using them at all. Their rulers or chiefs are not authorized to decide arbitrarily in weighty causes; they must

must hold consultation with the elders of the tribe or village, and may then either execute or mitigate the punishment which has been decreed, but they cannot add to it. Theft is punished with great severity when absolutely detected, but when only suspected it is never spoken of; nor can the house of the person supposed to be guilty of it be searched, unless it be a Jew on whom the suspicion falls; in that case, the person defrauded may make a search, assisted by the elders; and ^{the} ~~any~~ thing be found in the Jew's possession that has been stolen from him, or any other of the natives, the delinquent is instantly thrown on his back, and lashed on the belly till he expire.

They are in general cleanly in their persons, and dress with neatness. The women colour their lips and eye-brows with a kind of rouge, dress their hair in ringlets, and powder it with a red dust: they do not, however, take this pains every day, but always on Fridays, their weekly sabbath. Their dead, if it is possible to be done, are always buried on the summits of mountains, with their faces turned towards the east; and generally a kind of round stone monument is erected over the grave, on which the relations of the deceased, at particular seasons, strew flowers, and deposit eatables and wood; inscribing, at such times, the occurrences which have lately taken place in the country or their own families.

And now to resume the narrative of my travels: the difficulties and perplexities with which they had been hitherto attended might now be supposed to be drawing towards a conclusion, but there was still a variety of these in store for me. The 14th we allotted for a day of rest, and on the 15th again proceeded, leaving the chain of mountains rather to the east. Towards noon we arrived at the first village, inhabited by the Mussulmans, called Nagkakoh. When we had approached within about half a league of the place, several of the inhabitants came running to meet us, bringing milk for our refreshment, and inviting us to pass the night with them: on our saying we must go further, they

they appeared quite dejected; still attending and walking beside us. On entering the village, ostrich-flesh and millet-cakes were distributed amongst us, for which our leader paid eight zimpo a head for us; which so fully satisfied them, that they told us, if we would stay all night they would require nothing more from us: but as we had decided on going as far as Hatynayie, we departed, travelling over a mountain of sand, which, from the late rains, was become hard like ice, and was at the same time covered with ^{wet} a kind of greasy moisture, which made the footing very unsafe, and we were often in danger of sliding down at the risk of our lives. It was sun-set when we reached our destination for the night, where we took up our lodging at a caravanfera. The town of Hatynai consists of about four hundred houses and huts; it is situated in a fertile district, rather more than a league from the river Koemtani.

From the 16th to the 19th we had incessant rain and wind, in the midst of which we were obliged to cross a huge mountain: during the whole of this time we met with no occurrence of any importance, nor saw any other objects than a few wretched villages. There were here and there some palm-trees, even on those rugged steeps and barren flats. We were now obliged to look about us with much caution, as, at different times, there passed great numbers of lions, tigers, wolves, baboons, and almost every kind of savage animal, on their way to the last-mentioned river, to drink. On the afternoon of the 19th we came to the sorry town of Euyfach, where we found no one necessary accommodation, and were obliged to pass the night in a most uncomfortable lodging. The inhabitants of this place are a mixture of Arabs, Moors, natives, and Jews: the houses and huts are of great extent, but are wretchedly ill built on the declivity of a steep hill which stretches from south to north.

Here again was I unfortunately attacked with a fever, brought on by the heavy rains of the three last days, which had kept me constantly wet to the skin. It

I had now attained to such a height, that I found myself totally unable to stand, and fell down when I attempted to walk. In this state, my companions of the caravan refused to take me with them, lest my disorder should be contagious; and, after their departure, my host of the caravan-fera, from similar apprehensions, insisted on my quitting his house: by repeated supplications, however, I obtained a few days delay; but in the 23d, perceiving no symptoms of my recovery, he actually turned me out of his doors. I now went to several other houses entreating for admission, but nowhere could I excite a spark of pity. I was therefore constrained to leave the town, and crawled towards Omothy, the next village, situated about a league further to the westward. On my way thither I was again caught in a violent rain, which drenched me entirely through, and reduced me to such a state of weakness that I could no longer move forwards. Whilst I stood bent over my staff, to rest myself a little, some Jews, who had come out of the village on their way to the town, came up to me, and perceiving the weak state I was in, asked if I was sick. "Yes," I answered; "yet nobody will have the charity to give me shelter." Upon this, a young man amongst them whispered a few words to an elder one, who again addressing me, enquired whether I had any money. "Not much," returned I; "for I am a working man, and have not for some time earned any thing." He then gave me a stick he carried, saying, "Go on to the village: the sixth house on the left hand is mine; shew this stick there, and say that its owner has promised thee lodging." I took the token, crept on as well as I could, and at length safely reached the village, proceeded to the house I had been directed to; where meeting a boy I shewed him the stick, and asked him whether the person to whom it belonged was master of that house. "Yes," he replied; "that stick is my father's." Whilst this was passing two Moors came up, and demanded who I was, and of whom I was in search. I told them I was a working man, who, hav-
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ing fallen ill of a fever at a town about a league hence had been turned out of my lodging, and refused admittance to any other; that therefore, being compelled to come in search of shelter, I had on my way hither met the owner of that sick, who on learning what had befallen me, and that I wanted a lodging, had directed me to his own house here. "What is thy trade demanded they; "and what are the materials necessary for it?" "I am a joiner and carpenter," replied "And what is your disease?" resumed they. I now gave them an account of my illness, and how I had caught it. They did not thoroughly comprehend my meaning, not knowing any thing of the nature of fever, and asked me whether I might not die of it. "No," I answered; "it only enfeebles the body." "Well," said one of them, "we will come and see thee again and if thou art well enough recovered will procure thee employment, and take care of thee:" they then went on their way.

The boy now conducted me to a hovel detached from the house; and, bringing me a bundle of rushes to spread for a couch, left me. Here I found myself no much better off than I should have been beneath the open sky, as the rain poured in at every part; nor was there even a door to my apartment to defend me from it. My fever came on with increased violence and so debilitated was my frame, and so depressed my spirits, whilst I contemplated the wretchedness of my accommodations, where no kind of relief was likely to be obtained, that I verily believed my existence was about to be terminated. In the evening my host came to visit me, to whom I complained of what I suffered and above all of my excessive thirst. Upon which he brought me a cup of water merely tinged with milk for which, on the instant, he demanded twelve zimpo. Finding that, at this rate, my stay here was like to be attended with considerable expence, I entered into an agreement with this Jew, after paying him his twelve zimpo, to allow him ten for each future day that I should stay with him. Thus was I left, without a
being

ing to take compassion on me, lying like the most contemptible brute, in the most miserable of hovels, exposed to continual currents of air, and thence hopeless of recovery. Once each evening only I obtained visit of my host, who came regularly at that time to receive his stipulated payment of the ten zimpo; and would then bring me some water, with a little meal. On one of these occasions I expressed my amazement, that any man could suffer a fellow-creature to lie in such a situation, and that I should be refused admittance into his house: but I soon found, that Jew as he was, he had imbibed the superstition and false notions of religion of the country; for he told me that God had visited me with this sickness as a chastisement, and that as long as he continued angry at me no one should dare to receive me, lest he should render himself liable to a share of my punishment. At another time, when I found I had less of fever upon me than usual, I attempted to go out, but was desired by my host to stay within, for that if any of his neighbours should discover that he had given shelter to a sick stranger, I should be thrown into prison, and a heavy fine be imposed upon him. This I believed at that time, but I was soon undeceived; for, two or three days after, one of the female slaves belonging to the house came to visit me, and through her I found out that her master supposed me to be a Frenchman who wished to be converted, and concluded that I had a large sum of money about me, which, in case of my death, which he looked and hoped for, he should appropriate to himself, after having privately buried me: that if I recovered, and should attempt to go away without making him a considerable present, he would propagate some false rumours which would be a means of my being detained; and that he would then, if possible, find some means of selling me to some merchant as a slave.

Till the 6th of July it rained almost without intermission, so that during that time I contented myself with remaining quietly in my hut; but the sun now again shining forth, I determined, at any risk, to enjoy
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its beams in the fresh air. My host endeavoured to intimidate me from doing so by various expostulations, but finding I lent a deaf ear to these, he wanted me at least to leave my papers and cloak behind, lest, as he said, the Moors should deprive me of them. To this too I refused to consent, as I clearly perceived, that in this pretended care for me he was only actuated by covetousness: I told him, he was not to look upon me as his slave; that I owed him nothing; and that it was at my own option to remove to another lodging if I chose it. Finding me thus resolute, he made no more efforts to detain me, but sent his son along with me, in order, he told me, that he might know where I should take up my abode. The female slave, from whom I had received the intimation I have mentioned, had spread abroad the report that I was a Christian; which induced many Moors to examine me with attention, but without seeming to have any design of molesting me.

On the 7th the two Moors, who had accosted me at my first entrance into the village, came to see me. They enquired after my health; upon which I described the sufferings I had undergone, and pointed out to their notice the miserable hovel which had been assigned me. They then advised me to leave the Jew, and to go to Tegorarin, where I should find much better means of recovery, and should also, when I was able, meet with employment in my way of business: they added, that they could take me with themselves, as they intended going thither in a few days. I returned them many thanks for their kindness, but represented the impossibility of my performing the journey, as I was utterly unable to walk even the length of two or three hundred paces. They said that should be no objection, for they would procure me a horse; and charged me to be ready, without fail, for my departure on the day after the next.

The moment they were gone the Jew came running to me, and demanded to know what those men had been saying, and whether I knew them. "I know them perfectly well," said I; "and shall very soon set out

at with them from hence; for in this wretched hovel I can never recover my health." This struck him, and he now assumed a more friendly aspect; advising me to travel with those Moors, whose intention was, without doubt, to sell me. He added, that he would take me himself to a brother he had, about two days journey off, where I should meet with work and find good accommodations. "Who can sell me," cried I; "I am neither a Christian nor a negro: I am a free man who can work in any part of the country I choose." The Jew gazed at me with astonishment, and enquired, "Where is thy native home?" "Not far hence," I replied; "and my king will take ample vengeance on those who attempt to sell me for a slave." I now again expressed my indignation for the vile treatment I had received; but he seemed to feel no compunction for it, and soon left me.

I did not stir out the next day, on which the Jew told me he would give me some medicine; accordingly in the evening he did in reality bring me a powder, which, however, as soon as he was gone, I scattered under my rushes, not venturing to swallow it, so much did I distrust him. On the morning of the 9th, four armed Moors rode up to the door of my hovel, having a led horse along with them, and enquired if I was yet stirring. The Jew answered, that I could not be disturbed at so early an hour, as he had the night before administered a medicine to me. Not satisfied with this account, two of the Moors leaped from their horses and entered the yard where my hovel stood, followed by the Jew, who attempted to prevent them; but they drew their sabres and loudly menaced him, upon which he retreated. They then came to my hut door, and called to me to follow them, which I immediately did; but I soon found my passage barred by the Jew, who, seizing hold of me, demanded what I meant to do. "To go away," I replied; "I have paid thee thy stipulated due regularly every day; what further demand hast thou upon me?" "My trouble and my physic are not yet paid for," returned he;

he; "and therefore thou hast no right to go." Saying this, he grasped me by the arm, determined forcibly to detain me; the Moors renewed their menaces, but this had no effect, and the better to secure me, he caught hold of me by the hair. The Moors now became highly incensed, and once more drawing their sabres struck them repeatedly with the flat parts: during this scuffle I got loose, and hastening out of the house mounted the horse prepared for me and rode off, being soon afterwards followed by the Moors.

Our road lay for some time through a gloomy forest; nor did we see any but a few scattered huts, till we arrived at a very handsome village, where we halted for the night. It was, as well as the last, inhabited by a mingled assemblage of Arabs, Moors, Jews and Musulmans. As soon as I entered the inn or caravansera, I threw myself down upon the ground, nearly exhausted with fatigue. My companions conversed for some time with the landlord, who was an Arab; he soon after brought me a dish of young date sprouts dressed, and whilst I was eating them, asked me some questions as to the nature of my disorder, and whether I expected to be ever restored to health. I answered that I should very quickly recover, could I but meet with a comfortable lodging, where I could enjoy some repose. He on this looked attentively at me for some time, and then left me. I had every reason to believe from circumstances which struck my observation, that the Moors had entered into a negotiation to sell me here, but that the landlord had made objections on the score of my illness, which had broken it off. A female slave now brought me some palm-leaves, on which I laid myself down and slept in profound tranquillity, banishing every anxious care on the subject of my future destiny. In the morning I found I had got a violent return of my fever, and tormented with thirst, I arose and ran into the court-yard to procure some water to quench it: here the first thing I perceived was a pan of four milk; this I instantly seized, and in my eagerness for the cooling liquid, almost emptied the vessel at one draught.

draught. I then returned to my couch, and soon found the fever very much abated; indeed, for that time, it entirely left me, and I ascribed my recovery solely to the efficacy of the sour milk, felicitating myself on being thus easily relieved from an illness which had caused me so much misery.

And here let me observe, that every town and village I had hitherto come through since passing the borders were republican, not being subject or tributary to any prince; but in the progress of our journey on the 11th we came to several villages, all under the dominion of prince Akumba Mahomed *, wretchedly ill-built, and their inhabitants apparently living in the utmost poverty. In the intermediate spaces between these villages too, we found several Arab hordes, who exhibited every mark of being equally poor. Sterile and uninviting as this country is, scarcely any thing meeting the view but immense sandy tracts, rising often into barren mountains, and with only here and there a few date-trees scattered over them; yet is it so populously inhabited, that sometimes twenty or thirty villages may be seen in the course of a day's journey. We passed this night amongst a horde of Arabs consisting of upwards of a thousand souls, the most numerous, as I was informed, in all those regions. Their emir resides in his own palace, at about half a day's journey to the north of this place.

On the 12th we passed over one part of a chain of mountains said to extend twelve days journey in length; crowned with vast forests, unsafe to traverse from being the haunts of innumerable multitudes of tigers, lions, and wolves, with immense herds of elephants, which

* I do not find this country in any of the maps in my possession. It is four days journey in length from east to west, and one in breadth from north to south. The prince who rules over it holds a distinguished pre-eminence over the other princes of the States of Barbary, by a proficiency in various branches of useful knowledge.

which are perpetually seen roaming about here. My fellow-travellers told me, that though they were natives of, and had spent most of their lives in those parts, they had never heard of any person having traversed this woody range in its extent from south-east to north-west, so much dread prevailed of the fierce and savage animals with which they were infested; and had it ever been attempted, most certainly the persons thus adventurous must have fallen victims to their temerity. Even in passing over the small ridge adjacent to this great chain, the Moors, my conductors, were in constant alarm, every moment apprehending some furious attack; we saw nothing more annoying, however, than some hundreds of hedge-hogs with other small animals.

In our further progress we arrived at a great lake which receives its waters from the mountains, and at its southern extremity discharges them into a river, which, the Moors informed me, is called Scrobago (mountain river). Leaving the lake on one side, we travelled onwards, and came, just as it was growing dark, to Tinesalb. Here my fellow-travellers had fixed to dispose of me by sale or barter, not having any intention of taking me on to Tegorarin, which was still two days journey distant. We lodged at the public inn, where the entertainment was tolerably good. Three of my companions soon went out, with the design, as I afterwards found, of endeavouring to sell me; the fourth staid with me, and conversed on the subject of the further prosecution of our journey, in order, I suppose, to lull me into security. Within about an hour his three comrades returned, looking vastly pleased. "Thou wilt remain here, and to-morrow thou wilt get work," said one of them to me. "Not as a slave though," answered I. "No, no," rejoined he; and the conversation dropped.

As soon as I arose the following morning, two of my companions took me with them to one of the inhabitants of the village. This man asked me from what country I came, and what was the trade in which I worked;

worked; I answered that I was a subject of the king of Haoussa, in whose dominions I was born; and that I travelled through the country as a joiner and gun-maker. After looking at me some time, he again addressed me, enquiring if my health was quite restored, and whether my father was a Moor. I answered both these questions in the affirmative. "Very well," said he; "then thou mayst stay with me, and thou shalt have work." Some meal and milk were now brought me, and my late companions, after having received two goats and two sheep, left us. When I had finished my breakfast, my new host, now my master, who was himself a carpenter, as well as a slave-dealer, desired me to choose out some fit timber, and to make something as a specimen of my abilities. I accordingly went to the work shop, and selected such pieces as would answer my purpose; the tools I found here were a large broad hatchet, two great chissels, two borers, some knives such as our shoemakers use, and a saw. With these I made a small cupboard with four shelves, and finished it in a manner which raised me very highly in my master's good graces, who, I now found, was but a very clumsy performer as a carpenter. Some guns were next brought me, which I repaired, to the entire satisfaction of their owners.

During this time I was amply supplied with good eating and drinking; but I got no money for my work: that my master pocketed himself, yet at the same time, never gave me any intimation of my being his slave. I now made some small coaches as toys for children, little carriages, such as would hold a single child, childrens chairs, stools, and several other things of that kind. These my master took care to be well paid for, though to my great mortification never sharing the profits with me. I have seen him receive two fat sheep for so trifling an article as a child's coach.

On the 13th of February, 1790, my master brought home four young female slaves, and on the 20th set

out with them for Omozab *. He took me with him on this journey merely for a guard, as he told me, without letting me know he had no intention I should return with him again. He made me carry his gun walking behind, whilst he himself rode on before. When we had proceeded about a league on our journey, the youngest and prettiest of the slaves looked at me often with a countenance of distress and anguish; but I did not at the time understand her: when we had got about half a league further, however, totally unable to hold out any longer, she sat down and shewed her feet, which were terribly galled by walking over the heavy sands, for we had found no other footing the whole of the way. I now called out to my master, telling him, that unless he would ride at a slower pace, this girl must die by the way; and that for my own part, I should proceed at my leisure. This so irritated him, that he turned back, and coming up to me, threatened me, that if I either attempted to lag behind, or keep at a distance from him, he would shoot me dead on the spot. "Thou shalt be shot dead thyself if thou provokest me," said I, putting on a menacing aspect. This had the wished effect, and made him alter his tone: he alighted from his horse, and placing the disabled slave on the saddle, he himself joined me, walking on beside me with the most deliberate patience: he even shared a piece of tortoise-flesh with me; and, in short, we were now on the most amicable terms.

Towards noon we stopped in a village, where he ordered us an abundant supply of food and milk. We proceeded from hence, and just as it was growing dark, we arrived at the river Onivoh. This we were obliged to cross, which we did on a kind of raft constructed of eight strong planks fastened together, something similar to what is called a flying bridge, being drawn from one bank of the river to that opposite by means of a rope. We were now in hopes our master would

* A small town in the kingdom of Mezzab, at the distance of a day's journey from Mezzabath, a town situated on the river Onivoh.

would stop, that we might take some repose; but we were disappointed in this expectation, being obliged to travel on till midnight, when we arrived at Cartoh, a very handsome village, being fenced in by a wall on one side. We lodged for the remainder of the night at the house destined for the accommodation of caravans. Here the youngest of the female slaves, whom I before mentioned, a girl of about twelve or fourteen years old, was bartered for three sheep.

As it rained the following morning, we waited for fair weather till noon, when we set out, and passed through several villages. Early on the next day we came to Cofyahata, where we again crossed the Onivoh; and towards evening, on reaching Omozab, were obliged to pass that river a third time. Omozab is a small but neat town, consisting of about three hundred houses, and in a detached situation to the north of the town, stand between thirty and forty huts, inhabited by Arabs and Jews. Here, to my utter amazement, I saw myself bartered away for three sheep and a horse, and became the property of a Mussulman merchant. How did I now execrate my old master, but still more the traitorous Moors, on thus finding myself in a state of actual slavery: but my rage or murmuring would not now answer any purpose towards meliorating my fate; and patient submission to it was now my only alternative. Happily for me, however, I found my new master a humane and a worthy man, who, though himself a Mahometan, could esteem and respect even those who were of a different persuasion; and never failed to reward such slaves or dependents as faithfully executed the trusts he reposed in them. On the very first day I entered his service, he addressed me thus. "Thou art a Christian I know; yet with me it shall not fare the worse with thee for that. I have purchased thee dear too, it is true; but that I shall not regret, if thou wilt be honest and diligent: nay, if after some time I find thee worthy of it, I will provide for thee in such a manner as at present thou canst not imagine." The benevolence displayed in his countenance

whilst he uttered this, the mild tone of his voice, but above all the humanity of his behaviour towards his other slaves, prepossessed me so entirely in his favour, that I determined to use every exertion in my power to merit his kindness and conciliate his affection. A small hut was now assigned me, appropriated to my own exclusive use; and I could at length sleep in perfect tranquillity, secure of being under the protection and guidance of a man of real integrity.

On the following day the good merchant asked me whether I possessed all the implements necessary for the repairing of arms. I shewed him the few I had, saying I had been robbed of the rest. Upon this he took me immediately to a person who dealt in articles of this sort, and desired me to furnish myself with whatever I should want. That day he would not allow me to begin my work; but on the next, I got all his best arms, which I soon put in complete good order. Perceiving I was a good workman, and that I should be the means of adding considerably to his profits, he became still more kind to me; ordering that my constant fare should be the same of what he himself used; or, if he had a particular rare or savoury dish at his own table, he would present me with a portion of it.

I had now lived with this generous man a year and three months, when he had occasion to take a journey to Mezzabath, on some mercantile transactions in which he was engaged there. He proposed taking me with him, both as a guard on his journey, and an assistant in his business. We set out on the 3d of May, 1791, and after traversing a forest and some valleys, arrived in the evening safe at Mezzabath. This is a handsome large town seated on the river Onivoh, consisting of a thousand houses, some very good, others equally bad. They are built so as to form three principal streets, intersected by several cross ones. The great streets are sixty feet wide, raised high next the houses, and sunk in the middle; they are thus laid out, that when the river overflows, the waters may have a free course through them. The castle or fortress stands

on the south side, and is surrounded by a wall and a ditch; the former here making a part of the town wall. Here, as in every other part of the country, the inhabitants are a promiscuous mixture of various nations. The trade carried on here is of very considerable extent; as caravans from numerous different parts have chosen it as the common centre of traffic, partly because they get their different articles of commerce easily disposed of, and replaced here, and partly on account of the fertility of the surrounding district, which enables them to feed their beasts of burthen well and at a cheap rate.

We found the town on our arrival quite filled with men and beasts belonging to caravans, many of which had brought in their merchandize, and the markets had commenced. There were in particular numbers of merchants from Morocco, with whom my master had great dealings; bartering for the commodities they had to dispose of, ivory, ostrich-feathers, and furs. I was a busy actor in the scene, conveying the goods which my master purchased to places of security, and delivering such articles as he could not take back with himself, to those caravans which were to pass through our place of residence.

On the first day my master was entirely engaged in mercantile transactions; and I could easily discover that his dealings must be of a very lucrative nature. He paid away several sums of money to a great amount, and the tiger-sack *, which I carried every where after him, became at length very light. Several of the merchants eyed me with peculiar attention, and seemed to approve highly of the diligence and activity with which I acquitted myself. One of them, who was on terms of the most intimate friendship with my master, determined to put my zeal and fidelity to the trial, but by doing so, he involved me in infinite anxiety and distress. Whilst I had gone out one evening to look after our horses and get them fed, he, with the landlord as his
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* This bag is made of a whole tiger's skin, and is generally fastened on the horses backs like our portmanteaus.

confederate, conveyed away the sack which contained the remains of our money, and hid it in a corner. On my return I enquired of the landlord in whose charge I had partly left it, what was become of the sack. He answered with much seeming unconcern, that he had other business to mind than to stand watching for any one. Seized with consternation and dismay, I flew in search of it, enquiring of every person I met whether they had seen it. Amongst the rest I put the same question to this friend of my master, whom I at last met; instead of answering me, he gave me a stroke on the head, and said he had a good mind to make his slaves chastize me for my presumption. This, in addition to my original distress, irritated me beyond measure, and the more so, as I saw the by-standers laughing. I therefore sprung forward, and gave him a violent box on the ear. Really provoked at this, he ordered his slaves to seize on and bind me, and to keep me in close custody. But not by any means disposed to submit to this, I knocked down the first that approached, and flying to my master's musquet, I seized it, calling out to them at their peril to touch me, as I should certainly blow out the brains of the first who did. Intimidated by this, they kept aloof, at the same time threatening and reviling me. Fortunately for me, my master at that moment returned, and perceiving me armed and in such an attitude, demanded what was the matter; then, without waiting for an answer, he snatched the gun from me, and seemed ready to knock me on the head with it, when his friend interposing, held his arm, and told him that he had only laid a plot to try me, and was in fact himself the cause of all the confusion, adding, "Thou hast a faithful and a spirited slave; let me have him, and I will give thee three fat goats in exchange. A conversation now ensued on the subject, many encomiums were bestowed upon me, in the mean time, a large portion of fungus * was drank. Having emptied several mugs of this

* A sort of liquor prepared by boiling the tender branches of a particular species of palm-tree with a kind of blackberry, which

this liquor, the fumes began to mount, and the negotiation for purchasing me was renewed. My master at first absolutely refused to yield me up, but was at length prevailed upon to name his terms, which he fixed at four fat goats; after some more of the liquor had been quaffed, however, the original offer of three was agreed upon as my price. My new master seemed quite happy with his acquisition; and when the effects of the liquor had subsided, my former one would have started objections, which were not admitted, and I was destined to take up my residence at Mezzabath with my purchaser, whose name was Zalaman Mahomed.

From this man I was apprehensive I should have met with very harsh treatment, but in this I was happily mistaken: he appointed me overseer to fourteen other slaves whom he kept, and I was upon a much superior footing to them in the article of food. I was but four months in the possession of this worthy man: at the end of that time he disposed of me to a merchant, who was returning with a caravan from Mecca on his way to Morocco.

which grows on the same tree. The juice thus extracted, is in taste something similar to our German lustbiere; that particularly which I have drank at Hirschberg.

C H A P. XV.

Departure for Morocco.—The caravan attacked by a band of wandering Arabs, between the Cozul mountains and the river Tegtat.—Four slaves and three camels are killed, but the assailants are vanquished and put to flight.—The caravan rest for two days at Zahtamy, a small town of Tripoli.—The Yunahy, or rainy mountains.—Arrival at Azafia.—Description of the kingdom of Morocco.—Account of the people, their customs, manners, religion and form of government.—Of the emperor; description of the town of Azafia.—The author well treated by his master, who makes a distinction between him and his other slaves.—A private agent of the French republic, in the year 1796, redeems him from slavery, on the representation of the captain of a Dutch ship.—He embarks with the latter for Holland.

ON the 6th of September my new master and I set out with the caravan for Morocco. Our company consisted of merchants belonging to various nations, travelling on business of commerce: persons of different ranks returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca; and several slaves. We travelled very slowly, as the roads were bad, and the beasts of burthen heavily laden. Our number was diminished every day, by passengers turning off at those parts of the road which lay nearest to their respective homes. We passed over some mountains, where the path was so narrow as only to admit one person at a time; and we were obliged to be continually on our guard, lest we should be surpris'd by the wandering Arabs, as the caravan was uncommonly rich in valuable articles of merchandize, which would have been a desirable prize to those plunderers. What we so much feared was realized on the 13th of September, the seventh day after that on which we had set out, by our being attacked by a troop of armed Arabs on that part of the road which
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lies between the Cozul mountains and the river Tegtat. At their first onset they killed four of our slaves and three camels; and though they in their turns lost several of their numbers, they obstinately held out, still advancing upon us. We stood firm, however, and in the end had the good fortune to drive them off, but not before two of our merchants and five slaves were wounded, besides the four that had been killed. The goods all remained safe, and the lading of the slain camels was distributed amongst the others.

My duties had now become very harassing, for of the three slaves belonging to my master, besides myself, who had set out with us, one had ran away, and two had been killed in the engagement; consequently the care of two camels and two horses fell entirely upon me. We stopped for two days at the little town of Zahtamy*, for the double purpose of properly arranging the packages on the different beasts of burthen, and that some care might be taken of the seven persons who had been wounded in the late attack.

From this period, during the rest of our journey, I was prevented paying that attention to, or making those observations which I wished to do on the towns, villages, or districts through which we passed; my time being so completely occupied, having now the business to perform which had formerly been divided by three slaves. The whole of the day I had two camels to lead, whilst I managed my own horse; in the evening I was obliged to take off and dispose of the loadings in their proper places, to feed the four beasts, and besides all this I had every third night to keep watch. A further impediment to my acquiring a knowledge of the country, was the want of a competent knowledge of the language; for if I wished to make any enquiries, I found I could not make myself understood or obtain

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* A town belonging to Tripoli; a busy chearful looking place; owing to the frequency of caravans stopping there on their journeys to and from Mecca and Egypt. Some of these even remain here during what they call their winter, if they happen to arrive at the commencement of that season.

an answer, there being but four of the merchants of our train with whom I could hold any kind of conversation. From my own observations, however, I could discover that those districts through which we travelled to the westward, are in many parts fertile, whilst in others the soil is barren, but it is in general very thickly inhabited. Till we came to the Yunahy*, (rain) mountains, we every day met with villages as well as numbers of huts scattered about; particularly in the vicinity of rivers, where there was excellent pasturage for cattle. Exclusive of six days which we had rested on the road, we had travelled eight-and-twenty, besides three nights during that time, and it was on the 11th of October when we arrived at Azafia.

The empire of Morocco is one of the most delightful and fertile countries on the face of the globe, though not so well cultivated as it might be, were the government milder, and the inhabitants more enlightened. The tyranny of the emperor, and the consequent wretchedness of his subjects, proving an insuperable obstacle to the exertions of industry; in the room of which indolence and a degree of apathy, nearly approaching to stupidity, universally prevails. That person who by labourious culture endeavours to improve to advantage the natural fertility of the soil, is on that account only a more distinguished object of rapacity, and burthened with the more enormous imposts. Even from the most successful and abundant harvest, the husbandman has scarcely leave to retain a sufficiency for the support of existence for himself and his family; either the emperor himself, or his no less oppressive delegates, seizing on every thing by open violence, when they find fraud and artifice not equal to the attainment of their ends.

The present emperor is reputed to be of a much less ferocious and cruel character than his predecessor; yet scarcely a day passes in which he does not order for
execu-

* These mountains, situated in the centre of Morocco, are ten days journey in length from south to north, and one in breadth.

execution, or put to death with his own hand, some unfortunate beings; and the sanguinary caprices of this barbarian are submitted to with unresisting patience; and the wretched victims even esteem it a peculiar happiness, when they find they are to meet their fate from the emperor's own hand; revering him as the descendant of their great prophet, and looking upon his decrees as the dispensations of heaven. Even in the wildest and most unfrequented regions of Africa, no people so grossly ignorant or slavishly simple are to be met with as in this empire.

As every male from fifteen years of age upwards, is obliged to serve in the army, the emperor can at any time, when he has occasion for it, collect in a very few days a body of two hundred thousand men. On these, however, not much dependance can be placed, as except the Moors, they are in general a raw and undisciplined rabble. The imperial life-guard consists of six hundred Moorish cavalry, who, from the unrestrained licence they enjoy, run into every species of brutal excess, and practise every mode of rapine and extortion. To the governors in all the different towns and provinces the sovereign authority is delegated, which they exercise within their respective districts with the most absolute and uncontrolled sway; the emperor concerning himself very little with their proceedings, provided their exactions on his subjects are sufficiently rigorous and productive. Should a subject attempt to conceal any part of his effects, or of the produce of his grounds, when it has been demanded in the name of the emperor or of a governor, and such effects as he persisted in denying be afterwards discovered in his possession, his life and the whole of his property becomes forfeited; and he must consider it as a very signal mark of favour, if his sentence be mitigated to the punishment of being laid in irons for the remainder of his life, and his family expelled the country.

The priests, who are numerous, are but too often active instruments in those scenes of horror, infamy and murder daily committed. They commonly carry the koran about with them, which they display as if diligently intent on studying its precepts, exhorting the people
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to do the same, to follow them with reverence, and not to neglect the duty of prayer. Three times a day are they seen at the mosques, where, like the priests of Baal, they bawl aloud to God, as if to awake him from a profound sleep; and then invoking the prophet to watch over the life of the emperor his son, and prolong his reign, with many fooleries of the same nature. Their real aim is certainly not that of promoting the interests of religion and virtue, but the mere selfish one of advancing their own temporal power, by gaining an unbounded ascendancy over the minds of men. On one occasion only, the fervor of their devotion is sincere, that is, when they implore God and their prophet to punish, to destroy, totally to exterminate infidels. A portion of time each day, it is true, they devote to what they call the instruction of youth; but their lessons instead of enlightening are rather calculated to check the impulses of reason in the youthful mind, and to instil into it only a superstitious dread of the prophet, and a servile reverence for, and blind obedience to themselves, as his servants.

Polygamy is very common amongst all the inhabitants of this country, but with the Moors more particularly it is no unfrequent thing for one man to have four, five, or six wives at a time, nor are they wanting in the means to get rid of them as easily. No search is ever made into the cause when the wife of a Moor happens to die suddenly; on the contrary, should any person offer to produce proofs of her having been murdered, he is dismissed with a reprimand for his officiousness. Should a Moor take a fancy to the daughter of a mechanic, she must be yielded up to him, unless her family choose to expose themselves to the risque of having their houses plundered or some individual belonging to it assassinated.

The women are kept very much secluded, living in detached apartments separate from the men. Amongst the superior classes of the inhabitants, as merchants, priests, and officers, persons possessing integrity and liberality of mind are occasionally to be met with; but by

By far the greater number are despicably sordid and unprincipled: the priests and officers in particular, when of this last description, carry their turpitude and malignity to the most atrocious height. The tenth of his property in trade is exacted from each merchant as tribute to the emperor or his representatives, the governors; besides this too, they must pay a capitation-tax, a war-tax, and a security-tax*. But this is not all, over and above these usual and permanent imposts, voluntary contributions are from time to time demanded for the emperor; and a certain stipend must be paid by every person towards the maintenance of the priests. No Jew is allowed to carry on any kind of commerce, nor to possess any share of property; but subject to the harshest treatment, and compelled to perform the meanest offices, this race is looked upon in the same light as the common slaves,

Azafia is a handsome well built town, about one fourth as large as the city of Morocco. It at present carries on a very considerable trade, and which is every year encreasing. Not less than from eighty to ninety foreign mercantile vessels, it is computed, annually enter the road at this place.

My master kept eight negro slaves and two Moorish servants; these experienced neither harshness nor severity in his treatment of them, as he never exacted more work than each in his department could perform with very moderate exertions. The employment assigned to me was to take care of four camels and three horses; and though my fare was nominally the same as that of the other slaves, yet I was in addition every day supplied by my master with something of a better kind. He was very much pleased with my attention to his interest, in some works I voluntarily performed for him. I repaired two saddles, with some other articles of horse furniture, as well as the materials I could procure would
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* This is a tax by merchants to the governors, who on their parts are obliged to keep a guard to watch the warehouses of the former during the night.

admit of. The leather generally used here for such purposes I was obliged to dress a-new, which I did with ashes and salt; rubbing it over with the grease extracted from sheeps tails to make it more pliant. I next mended and furbished all the arms he had in the house; and, lastly, I made some new and advantageous arrangements in his domestic oeconomy. I at first was not distinguished from the other slaves by my dress, which consisted of a blue shirt, long blue striped trowsers, and a cloak of coarse cloth: I now laid these aside, as my master gave me some of his own clothes, which had not been much worn, amongst which was a very good cloak.

I generally attended my master in his excursions to other towns; on which occasions he admitted me to greater intimacy, treating me rather as a friend than a servant: my fare was the same he had himself, my couch equally comfortable, and placed near his own, and he entrusted me with the management of several of his mercantile affairs. Whilst thus treated with lenity and kindness, I have often called to mind the accounts of those, who pretending to have lived in a state of slavery in this country, tell piteous tales of their sufferings, and of the harshness and cruelty they have experienced. So far I will contradict these representations as to say, what I had frequent opportunities of remarking, that faithful and diligent Christian slaves are here universally treated with a high degree of indulgence.

I had resided nearly a year in this town, when my master one day took me with him on board a Spanish vessel just arrived in the harbour, in order that I might take charge of the goods he should purchase, and assist his other slaves in conveying them home. I had scarcely appeared on the deck when a number of officers and sailors thronged around me, asking me a great many questions; but finding I was a stranger to their language, they called forward one of the crew who spoke both English and Dutch, and made use of him as an interpreter. Through him I was asked by the

officers, whether I was a Christian; by what means I had fallen into slavery; how long I had been here; and if I did not wish to be restored to liberty. I gave direct answers to the three first questions; but to the last replied, that I had every reason to be contented with my present situation, being treated by my master and his family rather like a friend than a slave. My good master, who happened to be standing just by the captain and at no great distance from me, seemed sensibly touched by this testimony of my affection for him: and the officers and sailors finding I was not ready to grasp at my offered freedom, now summoned the ship-chaplain, who coming up to me, advanced many arguments to persuade me that I ought to accept the generous interference of the Spaniards in my favour; representing, amongst other things, that I could not enjoy the free exercise of my religion here. To this I made no kind of answer, but drew towards my master. Again I was assailed with exhortations, and a rosary was offered me by the priest; this I rejected: upon which I was branded with the appellation of heretic, and pronounced unworthy their good intentions towards me. My master, highly gratified by my conduct, assured me he should make it his care to reward me amply the first opportunity that offered. Had the vessel been English, French, Dutch, Danish, or Swedish, which thus held out a prospect of liberty to me, I should not have hesitated in accepting it; but I shrunk from the idea of owing my deliverance to the Spaniards or Portuguese, well knowing the extreme bad treatment ransomed slaves meet with amongst them; and more particularly such as are Protestants.

At noon the following day my master told his two Moorish servants, that for the future they should not look upon me as a slave, but as upon a level with themselves, and must therefore share with me whatever presents they should at any time receive. Much offended at this, these men used every means they could devise to annoy me, throwing impediments in
my

my way in whatever I was employed, and, in short, striving to injure me as much as they could; but, happy in the approbation and kindness of my master, I did not allow their malicious tricks to give me any disturbance. One day, however, I was struck so violent a blow on the face by one of them, that the blood gushed from my mouth and nose; even this insult I determined to bear with patience, apprehensive of drawing on myself the hatred of the other Moors in the place; but in a few minutes after it had happened my master entered the room, and seeing the condition I was in, demanded the cause. I now took the opportunity of telling him all I had been obliged to suffer for some time past, as well as of the blow I had just received. Enraged at this account he seized hold of the offender, and beat him so violently that at length he was quite exhausted with the exertion, after which he turned him out of doors.

In the space of a year and four months I had amassed the sum of seventy dollars, chiefly from the presents I had occasionally received for the execution of commissions with which I had been entrusted, and in which I had always shewn diligence and punctuality: in the French ships and counting-houses particularly I had been often employed. Amongst the Europeans in general I had acquired many friends. There was a M. le Greger in a French mercantile house, whom I used to visit on Fridays when I had some hours to spare, at which times he would entertain me with the news from Europe. Several other Frenchmen too, who came out in the year 1793, had obtained liberty to settle here: one of these, a M. von Fabre, had lodged at my master's for half a year, and during that time had behaved with the utmost kindness and most unreserved confidence towards me. He interested himself so much for me as to give me many useful admonitions as to my conduct; supplied me with many half-worn cloaths from his wardrobe; and, when going away, presented me with a louis d'or.

In November 1796, an English vessel entered the road;

load, and a few days after a Danish one, but under Prussian colours, also came to anchor there. Some business of my master's obliged me to go on board both these; with the latter in particular I had frequent dealings. There were many Frenchmen amongst the ship's crew; and the chaplain, whose name was Grade, by birth a Fleming, won my warmest good-will by his obliging attentions to me. He conversed often with me, enquiring circumstantially into my present situation; lamented my slavery, and took occasions to mention me in the most favourable terms to many other persons. As I, for the most part, visited this ship twice every day, the Dutch sailors, with their mate, became also much attached to me, telling me they would take me with them to Europe, if I could procure my ransom, and did not prefer continuing a slave.

The mate, a native of Zwoll, whose name was Manke, as often as I went on board renewed this friendly offer; and when I mentioned my desire of remaining a little longer with my good master, he opposed this idea with many powerful arguments; stating, that it was possible my master might die, and then I might fall into the hands of some other owner of a brutal disposition; or, that the Moors, or even my fellow-slaves, might traduce me, and find means to have their slanders believed, and thus render me miserable. After reflecting a few days on what he had suggested, I told him that I had come to a resolution to return with them to Europe; but begged he would sound my master, to know what sum he would require for my ransom. He did so the next day when he came on shore with the captain, who had several accounts to settle with our house.

When they had concluded their commercial concerns, he then asked my master in plain terms, at what price he would grant me my liberty. He answered, that I had hitherto never expressed a wish to return to my native country, but that if at present I desired it he would not be the means of preventing me. I was then summoned; and, on my entrance, the question

was

was put to me, whether or not I had an inclination to return to Europe. I answered, that I felt myself so happy in my present situation that I would willingly pass the remainder of my days here were it not on account of my parents, who, if they still existed, must be very much distressed to remain so long in ignorance as to my fate; that from that consideration I did wish to return home, and therefore entreated him to release me from slavery. "I am sorry to part with thee," returned my master, "because thou art a trusty servant and an honest man, more so than many Mussulmen; for this reason, however, on your paying me two hundred mardens * thou shalt be free." I shook my head at this, saying, that as the raising of that sum was infinitely beyond my ability at present, I should therefore remain with him some time longer. The captain and mate, notwithstanding this, still persisted in urging me on the subject, and on going away told me they would call again in the afternoon, to see how matters could be settled. I answered that could I have purchased my liberty with my own money, I should undoubtedly have sailed with them; but that I would not consent to have the sum made up by them, as in that case I should be obliged to pay it up by some years servitude in Holland; therefore, if I must serve for my ransom, I should much rather continue to do so with my kind master. They again begged of me to take a few hours to consider the matter, repeating their promise of calling in the afternoon.

I now gave up all thoughts of quitting my present situation, since I was firmly determined not to purchase my redemption with borrowed money. Within about an hour afterwards, however, a Dutchman of much respectability came and enquired for my master. This gentleman had resided for the last year in the town,

* A Spanish marden and a piaſtre are equal in value though they are different coins. Two columns, with the Spanish arms between, is the impression which the marden bears. There are square ones of an older date and superior value to the round ones.

wn, not in any public character, but seemed to be a
cret agent of the French republic. On being intro-
uced, he said that just now he had received a visit from
e captain of a Dutch ship, accompanied by another
an, who had mentioned to him my having a desire
return to Europe, could I have raised the sum suf-
cient for my ransom: that he was come with the in-
tion of removing that difficulty, and to advance
hat was required for my redemption. My master
mediately desired me to be called; and on my en-
ance told me, in presence of this gentleman, whose
ame was Von der Haft, the generous proposal he had
ft received from him. I returned my most grateful
anks for the kind offer; but added, that as I should
me time hence be able to pay my own ransom, I
ould have patience till that time, that I might avoid
e necessity of serving my deliverer for a series of
ears, and perhaps during that time be sent to America
the Cape of Good Hope: and that besides, in Hol-
nd I should run the risk of being taken up as a de-
rter from the East India company's service, and be
able to a severe punishment, In answer to this he
old me, that the company had very little power there
present; that the money he was now ready to ad-
ance for me, they could have no right to interfere
ith, as it was his own sole property; that he de-
igned to make me a present of it; and that he would
ve me a formal security under his hand, which would
fectually prevent any future claims being brought
ainst me on the score of my ransom-money. Struck
ith astonishment at this uncommon proof of disin-
terested generosity, I felt a still higher degree of hesi-
tion as to accepting it: I began to entertain
uspicions, that some private view might be concealed
ereath these appearances; but, as my master himself
xpressed the utmost pleasure at this happy turn in my
ffairs, and advised me by no means to reject the prof-
ered boon, I at length returned my benefactor
hose acknowledgments which were his due, and em-
braced his benevolent offer.

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In the afternoon, according to promise, the captain returned, to enquire whether I still adhered to my plan of remaining. I immediately told him all that had passed, he in the mean time feigning not to know any thing of my benefactor; till at length, on my telling him that he had mentioned his name, he could no longer deny that he was the person who had made known to him my situation and circumstances. He now told me I must lose no time in preparing for my departure, as he should sail in three days time. My master still continuing his kindness, made me a present of some mats, with dried fish and meat as provisions for my passage, to which he added some old clothes and other articles; and on the 11th of November, 1796, accompanied me, whilst the tears streamed from his eyes, on board the vessel which was to bear me to my native Europe. The wind being at first contrary detained us a little, but every thing was prepared to seize the first moment for departure. The whole ship's company, including officers, consisted of four-and-thirty persons.

CHAP. XVI.

Account of the voyage from Morocco to Holland.—The vessel meets with two violent gales and loses her foremast.—Is repaired.—Detained by an English frigate: The author attacked by a fever.—The ship arrives in the Texel.—The author proceeds on board a smaller vessel to Amsterdam, where he is arrested and detained a prisoner till the 2d of May, and then receives sentence to serve two years in the Dutch army.—A Prussian captain in the sea service from Danzic, becomes his friend and obtains his discharge.—With him the author embarks, and after a prosperous passage of eighteen days arrives at Danzic; where his deliverer still continuing his friendship, procures him a pass, by means of which he returns to the place of his nativity.

THE wind being fair, we sailed on the 13th of November, and soon came within the pleasing view of Gibraltar; but before we could enter the bay we encountered a storm, which carried away our foremast: when it had subsided we worked in, repaired our loss, and received a fresh supply of water. A short distance from Cadiz we had another heavy gale, when we fell in with an English frigate, who detained us till we had undergone a strict search: finding nothing to justify their making a capture, after taking two men from the ship who had belonged to the English service, they left us.

From this time we had nothing but bad weather, wind, snow, and rain, to such an excess that we were exposed to the greatest peril and fatigue. I caught cold from the wet, accompanied by a fever, which brought me down very much. To my great joy we arrived off the Texel, where we anchored on the 9th

of

of February, 1797. I got into a small vessel * and landed at Amsterdam the following day. The moment I set foot on shore I was stopped by an officer and four privates belonging to the French guard, who demanded in what ship I came. I replied, "In the *New Jater-Huis* merchant brig." "What countryman are you?" "A German." "Were you a passenger or a sailor?" "A passenger: I came from Morocco, where I was in slavery." "Where is your passport?" "The captain will answer for me; he told me I wanted no passport." "Then you must stay here till the captain comes." I was then carried to the guard-house, where several questions were put to me, and I was left till the captain came on shore. The people, on hearing that a slave had just arrived from Morocco, were curious to see me, so that in less than an hour I was surrounded by upwards of two hundred. I sent for some provisions, and having purchased clothes, made myself tolerably content; but my liberty not being granted me the next day, I grew uneasy; the more so when I reflected, that being a deserter from the company's service, ransom-money might be demanded; or I might be again forced into their employ. On the sixth day of my confinement, a young and friendly officer who was then on guard, entered into conversation with me; I told him where I came from, and all the miseries I had suffered, and then asked why I was not set at liberty? to this he replied, that information had been given that I was a deserter, and, to ascertain the truth of the report, enquiries were now making. "Even were I detained as a deserter, I should be kept at the expence of the public, whereas I am now obliged to expend the few shillings which I earned with such difficulty while I was in slavery." The officer left me without an answer;

* A lighter used in conveying goods from the larger vessels, which cannot get up to Amsterdam without great danger in passing the shoals.

fewer; but in about an hour three Dutch shillings were sent me, which procured only about a pound and a half of bread, provisions at that time being extremely dear; I received the same sum every morning, which was scarcely sufficient to pay for my breakfast, and though in eight days I had undergone three examinations, yet I knew not what fate awaited me. I was ordered to deliver up all my papers, which I resolutely refused, declaring, that no person in justice had the power to deprive me of them. I now became very impatient, and, in reply to their demands, I told them that in the heart of Africa, nay, even in Morocco, I had been treated with more humanity. On the 2d of May a secretary came with intelligence that I was condemned to three years servitude, either as a sailor or soldier, and that three days were allowed for my choice: I was too much dejected to make any reply; but on his leaving me I busied myself in forming plans of escape; but none of them appeared practicable; my deliverance was however nearer than I imagined.

On the 5th of May, sitting before the guard-house, lost in gloomy thoughts, three sailors passed me with blue and white striped sashes round their waists; I beckoned to one who happened to be looking at me: when he came, I asked him whether they were in the service of the Dutch? No, he replied, we are Prussians now going to Dantzic. I am also a Prussian, I replied, but am here in confinement. You must speak to our captain then, here he comes in the Prussian uniform; he is a kind gentleman, his name is Rosmer, was the answer. The sailors now left me; when the captain approached I addressed him by his name, and begged to speak with him. I related the reason of my confinement in as few words as possible, and then begged his advice. Are you desirous of returning to your native country, said he? indeed I am; I cannot like to remain with these insolent Dutchmen: then, said he, I will do what I can to obtain your liberty; and if you choose to work your

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passage

passage home, I will take you in my ship. Most heartily I accept your kind offer, I replied; this said, he went to the officer of the guard, and demanded why I was prevented from returning home, and what was to be done with me. The officer answered that I was a deserter: he can no longer be considered as such, returned the captain, he is a free man; and if not immediately delivered up, I must represent the case to my sovereign. He was then referred to a superior officer, when finding nothing could be done immediately, he sent a sailor to me with a bottle of wine and a piece of roasted meat, ordering him to remain and watch what further steps were taken with me: an hour afterwards came four officers, the before-mentioned secretary, and my Prussian captain, when I underwent another examination, at the conclusion of which the major said, How otherwise than a deserter can we treat this man, at least he ought to serve the remainder of the time which he should have passed at the Cape. The Prussian captain replied, the company has no power over deserters at the Cape, that place being now in the possession of the English, your authority there of course ceases. New objections were then advanced, but the captain over-ruled them by insisting that I could go with him; I was, he said, no criminal, and therefore could not be detained. Still they refused to release me; on which he positively declared his determination to send my case to the king, and not fail before he received his majesty's answer. This caused the major to alter his tone, so that at length he agreed to discharge me, on my paying the fees attending my examinations, the expences of board, &c. on which the captain desired them to make up the account, and it would be paid by the king. A servant was ordered to conduct me to his lodgings, where I went immediately, and on the return of my benefactor, I heartily thanked him, and ever after behaved to him in such a manner as gratitude dictated to me.

We remained on shore till the 14th of May, when, having received our stores and purchased such provisions

sions as were necessary, we sailed from Amsterdam in a small Prussian vessel, the crew of which consisted of eighteen men. We arrived at Dantzic in thirteen days, having had a very good passage: Here I was also at some loss for a passport; but the captain, whose kindness I still experienced, procured one for me: with tears of gratitude I took leave of this truly good man, and proceeded to my native city, happy in the idea that I had at length overcome all my uncommon dangers and toils.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

IT is acknowledged, that, of all the parts of the globe, the geography of Africa is still the most far from being well understood, therefore every attempt at increasing our knowledge of these parts cannot fail of being highly acceptable. It will still be long before we are even acquainted with the divisions of the country and their relative situations, notwithstanding all the zeal that has been displayed in exploring the interior of the country. It will perhaps scarcely be believed that the maps of these parts are so defective that spaces of three or four hundred German miles may frequently be found without meeting one place the situation of which can be accurately ascertained; the best remedy for this defect is to state the situation of places as correctly as possible from *certain distances*. It is true that this plan is frequently adopted by geographers, but it is capable of being still more extended. From the manner of travelling in Africa we have not the opportunity of employing this resource with so much accuracy as may be done in cultivated countries; at the same time it acquaints us only with a small part of this quarter of the globe; and the few travels into the country wanting that connection with each other which we have in those of frequented parts, which enables us to form plans not very distant from truth.

Such difficulties considered, these Travels will certainly be esteemed as a valuable addition to the geography of Africa; nor will their value in this respect be lessened though objections should be made to some particulars which the author relates, which however this is not a proper place to discuss. The map is not merely designed as a guide to the reader in perusing this book, but rather to suggest and facilitate any future inquiries into the interior of this vast country. We feel it therefore the more requisite to give a full statement of its construction, and the authorities from which it is formed. This it is hoped will prove that though very little time could be allowed for its completion yet much care has been bestowed on its construction. The projection of Mercator has been adopted as most convenient for laying down that part which the author travelled, it has the disadvantage of too much extending the high latitudes; but as the equator passes nearly through the centre of Africa, this inequality is less evident. The common calculation for every five degrees of latitude, $r = 9,3010$ Parisian miles, and for every five degrees of longitude $0,81166$ inches, have been followed. It is much to be desired that the constructor of maps should state in numbers the scale he uses as the basis of their construction: to the geographer this information would be highly useful. The author traced his track on Mannert's chart, which was published in 1794 by Weigel and Schneider, without the name of its meritorious author. It may be thought that I had merely to copy this tract and apply the magnetic needle according to major Rennell's plan; but in many instances I found it impracticable to hit on the places mentioned by this rule. I was therefore compelled to insert many places from such information as I could collect, making it still agree with the author's route. The compasses which he used must not have been good. I have derived but little assistance from the communications of Neihbuhr, Bruce, or Browne's travels, and the late discoveries of the French in Egypt were too distant from our author's route to supply me with any assistance. The coast from Cape Spartel to
Cape

Cape Verd, in the north of Africa is faithfully laid down from the voyage of the *Isis* Frigate, published in 1793 by Fleurieu at Paris, in two quarto volumes. Some of these points are admitted; there are a few others in the same voyage which were given in *La Connoissance des Temps pour L'an*, on which authority others have been corrected. From thence to Cape Negro, Bellin's charts in the general history of voyages are useful in continuing the coast: from which place to the Cape of Good Hope Arrowsmith's second map of the world, which he published in 1795, is most correct, having had the advantages of two astronomical points which are not ascertained in any other chart whatever.

The situation of the Cape of Good Hope, particularly of Cape Town, is allowed to have been stated with accuracy by La Caille, but from this point to the Red Sea, where Neihbuhr begins, the coast, except Madagascar, is less known than any other part. I have drawn the line as well as I could from Arrowsmith's two maps of the world, Vaugondy's three sheet chart, Mannert's, and the latest map of Dr. Reineke. Cape Guarda Fui is admitted to lie in 12 degrees 45 minutes north latitude.

I had no choice in what relates to the interior of Africa. Major Rennell, in his late map, has corrected the positions of many places, and it will long remain the standard of geographers. This remark will be admitted on a comparison of his first map with that which he presented to the society for making discoveries in the interior of Africa in 1793, and another since constructed for Mr. Park's travels. Future travellers may throw new light on some parts which are now very differently stated by our best informed writers; for example, the state of Darfûr would be placed five degrees more south by Major Rennel than by Mr. Browne, which circumstance is more attributable to our still small knowledge of the country than to any neglect of this able and learned geographer. It is, however, much to be deplored, that the inaccuracy

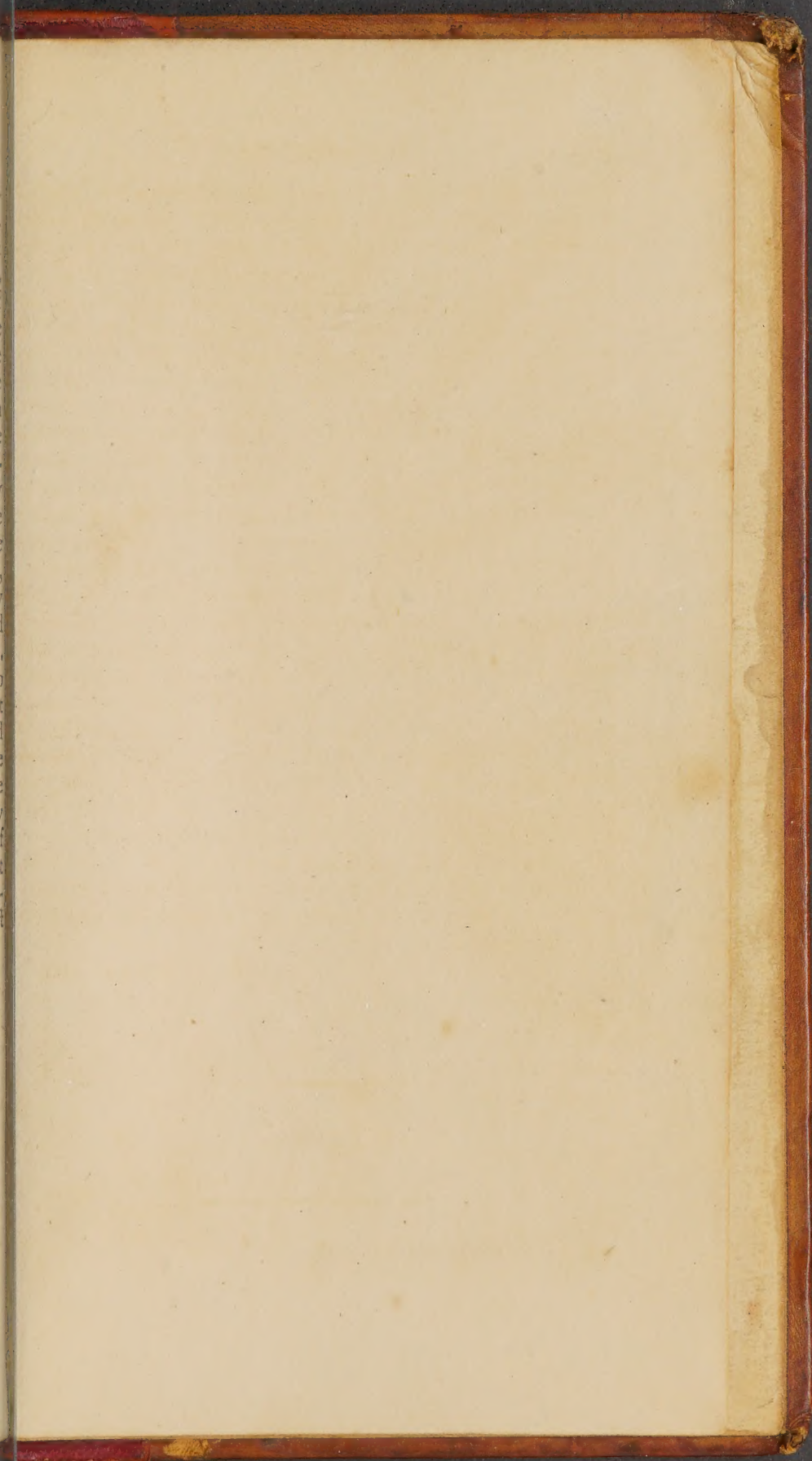
racy of his stereographic projection will render the labours of such as wish to improve on him more difficult. Dr. J. R. Forster has given a map of the southern parts, which is published by Schneeder and Weigel, in which it is inconceivable to account for the Cape of Good Hope, and most of the principal points in the whole map, being placed one degree too far to the westward, which I have rectified by bringing it one degree more to the east. The lower part of the eastern coast, Monomotapa, Sofala, and a small part of the country to the west, Loango, Congo, Angola, Benguela, and two of the adjacent states are the only parts which are accurately known. These I have taken from Arrowsmith's two maps, as sometimes the one contains more, and at others less than the other, from Bellin, whose omissions have been supplied by Vaugondy, Reineke, Mannert, and a map published by Janvier in 1753, three years after D'Anville's chart. I was forced to be content with Janvier's map, who copies D'Anville very closely, as I could not meet with the original. This eminent geographer published also a very valuable paper in the twenty-sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, on the rivers of the interior of Africa. There are but few maps which I have used not mentioned, except that of Algiers, which is prefixed to a description of that country published a few years ago at Altona; it supplied me with but few particulars, though it is the best I could hear of.

C. F. GOLDBACH.

Leipfic,
Oct. 11, 1800.

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